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UNPARALLELED INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

"THE development of the South means the enrichment of the nation." This was the doctrine of the late Hon. William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania. When first promulgated, few people in the North accepted it. They could not see as clearly as he did that Southern growth was to be as important to the North as had been the development of the West.

The interdependence of the two sections and the reason why Southern advancement meant Northern wealth were probably never more graphically stated than in a letter written by Judge Kelley, in which he said:

"The States south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, with their half-million square miles of area, contain a wealth great enough for a continent—a wealth so vast, so varied in its elements and character, so advantageously placed for development, that these States alone can sustain a population far greater than the population of the United States to-day. Their products would be so different from those of other portions of the country as to afford the most profitable exchange, advantageous to all. And it is in these States that we must find the new and greater market for Northern surplus, whether that surplus be in the shape of accumulated labor of the past, that is to say, capital, or the future productions of labor, or of labor itself, because in these Southern States, more than elsewhere, the natural conditions of success exist. As to the rapidity with which it can be done, the past growth of the West furnishes the best answer. It was the building of an empire in the West that relieved and enriched the East as well as the West. The enormous energies, the 'plant' used in that task, unparalleled in the magnitude of the work and the greatness of the reward to all, is now seeking a new field of investment, and there is no spot on earth sufficient for it and within its reach but the South. I do not consider that there ever existed in the West, great as its wealth is, nor in any other portion of the country, anything like the natural wealth of the South."

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This is a comprehensive statement of the unequalled natural resources of the South and of the great wealth-creating possibilities of this section. It does not by any means exaggerate the conditions. It can be truthfully said that there is no other region on this continent or in Europe of equal area that has one-half of the advantages for supporting a dense population and for the creation of wealth as the South. In this section is found a remarkable combination of the advantages of all other countries. It has every variety of climate, its soil yields abundantly of the widest range of agricultural products, it produces three-fourths of the entire cotton crop of the world; but its cotton crop is now exceeded in value by its grain crops, a fact which comparatively few seem to know. It is becoming the market garden of the North, over five million dollars' worth of vegetables and fruits being shipped annually from Norfolk alone to Northern cities. Florida furnishes the country from three million to four million boxes of oranges a year. Georgia ships over ten thousand car-loads of watermelons every season. In the aggregate the shipment of early fruits and vegetables North and West probably amounts to nearly fifty million dollars a year, and this business is increasing very rapidly. Ten years ago it was of trifling importance.

But the South's profitable crops do not end with cotton, grain, fruits, and vegetables; they include about four hundred and fifty million pounds of sugar, one hundred and forty million pounds of rice, many million pounds of tobacco, and other smaller crops. Of all its crops, tobacco probably yields uniformly the largest profits to the grower. As compared with the net returns of tobacco per acre, the profit on grain in the West is extremely small. The possibilities in grain-growing in the South were illustrated two years ago, when a South Carolina farmer won the prize offered by the "American Agriculturist" for the largest yield of corn per acre, in competition with the most progressive farmers in every section of nearly every State in the Union. In no part of the country can agriculture be made more profitable than in the South. And a genial climate makes the cost of living and of caring for live-stock very much less than where the intense cold reduces the days of out-door labor to the minimum and adds a heavy burden of cost for food, clothing, and fuel for the family and for the shelter and feeding of all farm animals. The South is a well-watered country, with a regular and abundant rainfall. From the great mountain ranges that form its backbone, innumerable streams and rivers flow to the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. Some fur-

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nish cheap transportation and will forever regulate railroad freight rates; others afford water-powers, used only to a comparatively small extent now, but capable of furnishing sufficient power to spin all the cotton which the South produces.

The lumbering business of Michigan and the adjoining States has been the foundation of much of their progress and prosperity; it has afforded employment to millions of capital, to many thousands of hands, and has yielded almost fabulous profits. In the extent and variety of its standing timber the South far surpasses all other sections. It has the foundation for a lumbering and wood-working business much greater than that of the North or West. Its vast virgin forests of hard wood will furnish the raw material for as many factories to manufacture costly furniture and fine woodwork of all kinds as are now in operation in the entire country; its cheaper lumber will go into the lower grades of furniture, while its pine will continue, as it now is, indispensable in all building operations. The editor of the "Timberman" estimates that the annual lumber product of the South is fully four hundred million dollars, or as much as the value of the cotton crop; but that is probably much too large an estimate. The South's resources in coal and iron ores, always the foundation for the greatest prosperity, are so great as almost to defy comprehension.

Nowhere else in the world, it is believed, are the natural conditions so favorable for the production of iron and steel on the largest scale that the increasing consumption demands and at the lowest cost. Less than ten years ago the foremost iron-makers and many of the leading journals of the North honestly believed that the South could never compete with Pennsylvania in the making of pig iron. They believed this because they had never investigated the combination of advantages for iron-making which the South possessed. When Alabama first commenced to ship pig iron into Northern markets, it was persistently claimed by those whose iron was being displaced that it could only be a question of a few months before these shipments ceased, because according to their views there was a loss on every ton. As months passed into years and the Southern iron-maker showed no disposition either to abandon his Northern trade or to fail by reason of the supposed losses on it, public sentiment commenced to change. Here and there was found a man who had investigated the foundation on which the Southern iron interests were building, and who saw that it was neither speculation nor town-lot booming. In the great mineral and timber belt which stretches from West

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Virginia to northern Alabama, covering, roughly speaking, an area of about seven hundred miles in length and one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles in width, there is a concentration of mineral and timber wealth greater than can be found in any other equal area in America or Europe with ideal conditions for its profitable development.

Instead of having to haul ore one thousand miles, as many Northern furnaces do, and coke five hundred to six hundred miles, as many Western furnaces are compelled to do, the iron-maker in this section finds his ore and coal and limestone within a few miles of each other. In quantity they are, humanly speaking, inexhaustible; and as new railroads open up new and large fields, the cost of production steadily decreases, against a gradual but certain increase in a very large part of the North and in all of Europe. For a while it was believed by many that the quality of Southern ores and coke was inferior to the best grades of Northern, but the best Southern coals and cokes now equal or outrank the highest Pennsylvania grades, while Southern iron ores have gained a position equally as strong except for Bessemer iron. The Lake Superior district now furnishes the bulk of all Bessemer ores used in this country; but its monopoly cannot be maintained much longer. The Cranberry district of North Carolina, about whose Bessemer ores so much has been heard, and with which so little has been done, for reasons needless to detail, in all probability will soon be opened up to furnish ores at a low cost to neighboring furnaces whose coke will have to be hauled but a few miles. Magnetic concentration of these ores is now discussed; and this, when accomplished, will have a great influence upon the iron interests of the central South, as it will mean advantages for Bessemer-steel making in the South as supreme as those which it now has for iron-making.

In Llano County, Texas, Lake Superior iron-ore experts are opening up what they claim is the finest Bessemer-ore region in this country; but even if this be too strong a claim, it is certainly true that it is an exceedingly rich Bessemer-ore district, the development of which must have an important effect upon the iron and steel interests of the Southwest, as these ores are of such a high grade that they will bear long transportation. Some years prior to the war South Carolina had quite an important iron-making industry, and some fine-grade iron produced in that State was shipped to Sheffield, England, and made into steel cutlery, razors, knives, etc., which took a high prize at the first "World's Fair" in Paris. The ores from which this steel was made have remained undeveloped since the war, but an

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English expert recently reported that on one property near Blacksburg from which these ores were mined there were at least twenty million tons of fine Bessemer ores, identical in character with the best Swedish ores. South Carolina may therefore become an important factor in Southern steel-making, especially as no ores now mined in this country make an iron equal in all respects to the best Swedish irons. In addition to these sources of supply, arrangements are being made which will put Cuban Bessemer ores into Southern furnaces if they should be required.

The proximity of the raw materials in the mineral belt of the South—an advantage nowhere else equalled—is only one of the strong points which must help to make this the world's busiest workshop. A climate which has been the delight of every visitor is a factor of great importance. Of this section Judge Kelley once said:

"It is a country upon which the Almighty has with most lavish hand bestowed his richest material gifts. It is gorged with every mineral. . . . It is the most beautiful and the richest portion of God's earth upon which my vision or feet have ever rested."

And Mr. Edward Atkinson, who deals in statistics so constantly that he never permits himself to grow enthusiastic, but is always careful and conservative in his statements, says:

"This mountain and plateau section possesses a climate in which any kind of work may be performed by white or black alike; in some portions of the area described are probably to be found the best conditions of climate, of soil, of humidity and rainfall, and of all the other elements which go to make stalwart men and women. To those who view natural scenery in its connection with the promise of homes for the multitudes who must be provided with them, there is nothing more beautiful or picturesque than the aspect of these mountains and valleys, which have been named 'the Land of the Sky.'"

Mr. Atkinson extends the width of this belt to include the "blue-grass" region of Kentucky, and to cover about two hundred and fifty thousand square miles. This is equal to the combined areas of England, Wales, Scotland, and Belgium, and a half of Germany and a half of France. This central Southern region, equal in area to the countries named, is capable of supporting a greater population than their combined population. It can comfortably accommodate, and furnish a foundation for the prosperity of, more people than now live in the United States. Its greatest resources are its coal and iron and timber, and yet Mr. Atkinson estimates that it is capable, when well populated with thrifty farmers, of producing as much wheat as the entire country now consumes.

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On one side of this mineral belt is the cotton, fruit, and truck-growing and yellow-pine region of the South, needing the coal, iron, and hard woods of the mountains, and furnishing in exchange its cotton, its fruits, vegetables, and its pine lumber, creating a mutually profitable exchange. On the other side are the rich and populous prairie States, which will afford an almost unlimited market for all the manufactured products of this central workshop region, while the development of these industrial interests will create a new and important market for the surplus grain and provisions of the West. The construction of the Nicaragua Canal, justly termed by Senator Morgan "the final consummation of the glory of this wonderful nineteenth century," will open to the cotton and the coal and the iron of the South new markets in which the demand will tax the productive capacity of this section. The world's commerce and shipping will centre in the Gulf of Mexico and at South Atlantic ports to a degree that can scarcely be comprehended now. Then wealth will be created, large cities will grow up, coal mines will be developed, iron and steel works built, and shipyards established on a scale little dreamed of now.

With this wealth of raw materials, of climate and soil, and with its commanding position between the ocean and Gulf and the mighty West, what is the South doing in material development? It is needless to ask as to what it is doing in the extension of education, in the building of churches, the establishment of libraries, and in all that tends to higher civilization, for these, in our country at least, naturally and inevitably follow material advancement. When the most disastrous, or rather the most costly, war in the world's history ended, the South was in a condition beyond the power of words to describe. For four years contending armies had occupied its territory, its fields were devastated, ruins marked the sites of thousands of its best houses, its fences were gone and its farms impoverished. Everywhere there was ruin and dismay. Its whole labor system was disorganized, hundreds of thousands of its best men had been killed or maimed in battle, and still larger numbers of its most progressive men were compelled to seek a living in the West or North. The census report of 1870, five years after the war ended, showed a decline of over two billion dollars in the assessed value of property as compared with 1860. Careful estimates put the money loss to the South by the war, counting the destruction of property and taking some cognizance of the losses due to the disorganization of the labor system, at from four to five billion dollars. If the loss as represented by the death of so

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many of its foremost men and the great rush West and North just after the war be included, it is very reasonable to say that the war cost the South five billion dollars. The total capital invested in manufactures in the United States according to the last census is about three billion five hundred million dollars.

If we could conceive of some disaster which should wipe out of existence every manufacturing enterprise in this country and every dollar of capital invested, the loss would be so appalling as to stagger the world. It is impossible to depict the reign of terror and the suffering which would ensue. Many years would pass before any recovery could be expected. And yet this frightful condition and this overpowering loss would be less than the South had to face when it laid down its arms in 1865. Moreover, this loss would have to be borne by over sixty-five million people, who would have every aid that the world's capital could render in helping to overcome its effects; while the South's loss had to be borne by less than ten million people, and that, too, without any material assistance from the outside world and hampered also by political misrule. Following this came reconstruction and all its train of evils; and 1880 found the South just beginning to show signs of recuperation. At that time and in 1881 the conditions were peculiar. The South, scarcely ready to commence a new life, was almost as poor as in 1865; the North and West were rich because of the war and of the enormous emigration to the West and its great development, controlling the finances of the whole country, undergoing a marvellous advancement, and flushed with prosperity following the great grain crops of 1879, 1880, and 1881, and the demand in Europe for all our surplus grain.

This was the condition of the two sections ten years ago. Certainly no one would have been bold enough to predict that the rate of industrial and agricultural advancement of the South between 1881 and 1891 would be as large as that of the rest of the country. Such a prophecy would have been regarded as utterly absurd. Moreover, remembering that nearly five million immigrants have settled in the West in the last ten years and that this has been a period of an enormous advance in the grain production of that section, and remembering that the South has had no immigration, it would seem entirely natural to assume that the rate of agricultural growth in the South since 1881 has been very small as compared with the great growth of the West and North. The advance in manufacturing and mining interests has been widely discussed, but it

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could not, of course, be expected, under these remarkable circumstances, that the rate of their growth in the South could be equal to that of the North. Ten years ago one section was poor and with hardly a foundation laid for industrial development; the other was rich, with vast manufacturing and mining interests flourishing and rapidly expanding. Let us look at what the South has accomplished as compared with the rest of the country. The growth of population in the South since 1880 has been almost wholly the natural increase; the growth in the North and West has been swelled by over five million immigrants. In 1881 the South produced 305,008,000 bushels of corn, and in 1891 535,942,000 bushels, a gain of over 230,000,000 bushels, or 75 per cent; while the increase in corn production in the balance of the country in 1891 over 1881 was 71 per cent, or a lower rate than the South. The aggregate production of wheat, corn, and oats in the South in 1891 was 672,459,000 bushels, against 404,301,000 bushels in 1881, a gain of 268,158,000 bushels, or 66 per cent. During the same period the gain in the rest of the country was 72 per cent. In other lines of agriculture the South's growth has been equally satisfactory. In 1881 the cotton crop was 5,456,000 bales; in 1891 it was about 9,000,000 bales. On the basis of prices which prevailed in 1881, the South's agricultural products of 1891 would have been worth about five hundred million dollars more than the total of 1881; but even with the very great decline in the prices of all commodities, the difference was about two hundred million dollars compared with 1881.

Railroad-building, unless based on speculation, may be accepted as a good test of the general advancement of a country or section. At the end of 1881 the South had 23,811 miles of railroad; at the end of 1891 it had 44,805 miles, a gain of 20,994 miles, or 87 per cent. In 1881 the mileage of the rest of the country was 79,332, and in 1891 it was 122,898 miles, a gain of 43,566, or only 56 per cent, against the South's 87 per cent. Probably the most striking comparison that can be made to show the growth of the South's railroad business is based on the census figures of 1880 and 1890. Comparing the richest and most populous section of the West, where railroad-building has been very active, nearly 18,000 miles having been constructed in ten years, with the South, it is seen that the relative progress of the latter between 1880 and 1890 has been far ahead of that of the former. In 1880 eight Southern States had 13,227 miles of road, which carried in that year 6,395,074 passengers, or less than one-third as many as were

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carried on the 23,588 miles in the Western group; whereas by 1890 the number on 24,955 miles of Southern road had reached over 30,000,000, nearly one-half as many as on 41,299 miles of Western road. The number of passengers carried on Southern roads increased 369 per cent, and on Western roads 168 per cent. The freight moved increased in the same way, the number of tons handled having gained 247 per cent on the Southern roads, against 115 per cent on the Western roads. The gain in earnings both from passengers and freight shows very largely in favor of the South, but the most remarkable point is seen in the comparison of freight and passenger rates. In this at least the thickly settled West ought to show lower rates and a larger decrease between 1880 and 1890 than the South; but to the great credit of the managers of Southern railroads, and contrary to the statements made by many Southern legislators who seek to impose unjust restrictions upon the railroads, this is not so.

In 1880 the average receipts per mile per passenger were 2.541 cents on Western roads and 3.194 cents on Southern roads, a difference of .653 cent in favor of the former; in 1890 the average in the West was 2.338 cents and in the South 2.291 cents, showing that Southern roads are now carrying passengers at a lower average rate than Western roads. The decline in the South was 0.903 cent, or 28 per cent, and in the West 0.203 cent, or 8 per cent. Ten years ago the average receipts per ton per mile on Western roads were 1.369 cents, against 1.691 cents on the Southern roads, a difference against the latter of 0.322. By 1890 Southern roads had been able to reduce this average rate to 0.926 cent, a decline of 0.765 cent, or 45 per cent, while the decline in the West had only been 0.359 cent, or 35 per cent, the average rate in the latter section now being a little more than in the South.

Looking at the growth of the iron trade, we find that in 1881 the entire South made only 451,540 tons of pig iron, the output for the rest of the country in that year having been 4,190,024 tons. In 1891 the South made 1,914,042 tons and the rest of the country 7,359,413 tons. Starting in 1881 with 451,000 tons, the South increased its output by 1891 by 1,460,000 tons, or 323 per cent, against a gain of 78 per cent in the North and West. In 1881 the North and West made over nine times as much iron as the South; in 1891 they made less than four times as much. Ten years ago the South was almost wholly dependent upon other sections for its finished iron product, its cars, locomotives, engines, boilers, agricultural implements, etc. Now it

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has some excellent locomotive-building works and many car-wheel and axle foundries which even ship their product to the leading railroads North and West, large machine shops, agricultural implement works, and the finest and best-equipped iron shipyard in the world, which has lately launched the largest iron steamer ever built in this country, with the exception of some of the new war vessels. The census figures will show that during the decade between 1880 and 1890 the increase in the number of persons employed in New England cotton-mills was 21,755, while in Southern mills it was 22,592; in the first case a gain of somewhat more than 17 per cent and in the second of nearly 135 per cent. Superintendent Porter lately said:

"The Southern States may well be proud of this magnificent showing. These States are employing in their cotton-mills nearly as many hands as Massachusetts did in 1870. In the ten years just closed, they have more than doubled the number of persons employed and the value of their product, and have nearly trebled the amount of cotton consumed and the number of their spindles. The increase in the amount of cotton consumed has been greater in the Southern States than in New England."

The output of coal from Southern mines in 1891 was over twenty-three million tons, compared with about six million tons in 1881, a much greater percentage of gain than in the country at large. The forty cotton-seed-oil mills, with a capital of three million five hundred thousand dollars, in operation in 1881 have grown to over two hundred mills, with an investment of thirty million dollars or more; of phosphate rock the production in 1891 was between six hundred thousand and seven hundred thousands tons, as compared with two hundred and sixty-six thousand tons ten years ago.

If further examples or illustrations of the South's progress are needed, they may be found in every line of development. Probably no feature of Southern growth has commanded more attention during the last few years than the increase in business at the South Atlantic and Gulf ports. The tendency of Western produce has been to seek a foreign outlet through Southern ports, and so great are the advantages of these as compared with the more northerly routes that the business which has been started must of necessity grow rapidly. With Western grain and provisions added to Southern cotton, coal, and lumber passing through these ports, there is a foundation for large commercial cities at every good Southern harbor. Railroad construction is already tending in that direction. The official government figures can again be called upon in behalf of the South. The value of exports from Southern ports in 1881 was $257,535,401 and in

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1891 $349,801,999, an increase of $92,266,598; the value from all other United States ports was $576,013,726 in 1881 and $620,713,801 in 1891, a gain of $44,700,075. Not only did the South gain 36 per cent, against an increase of only 7.7 per cent at all other ports, but the actual gain by the former was $92,266,598, as compared with $44,700,075 by the latter. Examining the banking business, it is found that the South has six hundred and forty national banks, with an aggregate capital of $99,905,405, against two hundred and twenty-three, with a capital of $45,010,000, in 1881, the percentage of gain being very much larger than in the rest of the country.

That the advance has been general as to States and as to all lines of progress is conclusively shown by the assessed value of property. In 1880 the total assessed value of property in the Southern States was $2,913,436,095. By 1891 this had increased to $4,816,396,896, a gain of one billion nine hundred million dollars. The average assessed value *per capita* in 1891 was $271, while in 1880 it was $187. It would only require the same rate of gain *per capita* and the same rate of increase in population as during the last ten years—and certainly these will be maintained—to give the South a total assessed value of nearly eight billion five hundred million dollars ten years hence. Summing up in tabular form some of the foregoing statistics, we find the following condensed showing of the South's progress:

	1881.[1]	1891.
Assessed value of property	$2,913,436,095	$4,816,396,896
Assessed value of property *per capita*	$187	$271
Railroad mileage	23,811	44,805
Yield of cotton, bales	5,456,000	9,000,000
Yield of grain, bushels	404,301,000	672,459,000
Value of chief agricultural products	$749,000,000	$926,000,000
Coal mined, tons	6,000,000	23,000,000
Pig iron produced, tons	451,540	1,914,000
Phosphate rock, tons	266,000	About 650,000
Capital invested in cotton-seed-oil mills	$3,504,000	$30,000,000
Number of national banks	223	640
Capital of national banks	$45,010,000	$99,905,405
Exports from Southern ports	$257,535,000	$349,801,000

The past ten years have only served to show the possibilities of Southern advancement. It would require too much space to elaborate the facts which prove that the growth of the whole country necessitates and will insure even greater progress in the South in the future than in the past. The increase in the population of the United States in the next ten years will about equal the present population of the entire

[1] In a few cases these figures are for 1880.

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fourteen Southern States. The growth in manufactures is illustrated by the fact that the increase in capital invested in manufacturing in 1890 over 1880 was more than the total capital so invested in 1870. The steady growth in the consumption of iron will demand an increase in production sufficient to require the building of at least as many furnaces in the South in the next ten years as have been built in the past ten. These facts and many more that will suggest themselves to the reader will show that even if the South maintain only an equal rate of growth with the country at large, it will accomplish far more between 1890 and 1900 than it did between 1880 and 1890, while in all probability its rate of growth during this decade will, as during the previous one, exceed the rate of growth in nearly all lines of development of the rest of the country.

Coincident with very rapid industrial progress and with increase in population and wealth in any community there is invariably more or less speculation in real estate. No section of the country is free from this. For many years the West was the centre of attraction for real-estate operators, and the whole country was flooded with the stories of the marvellous increase in town-lot values as grain fields or forests were almost in a day transformed into booming towns. Throughout the great West there are many sad monuments of blasted hopes in deserted towns that failed to realize the expectations of their founders; but on the other hand there are magnificent cities, such as Denver, Omaha, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Spokane Falls, Duluth, Tacoma, and dozens of others, whose phenomenal growth has been largely due to the work of the real-estate "boomer." When the South commenced to develop, the real-estate operators turned their attention this way. The Southern people, who had heretofore been great speculators in cotton, now became speculators in corner lots, first in Birmingham and then in Anniston, Sheffield, and other places.

The fever of speculation excited by the marvellous advance in values in Birmingham when fortunes were made in a day, and when the stock of the chief land company there rose from $100, the par value, to $4,500 a share, based on dividends in one year of 2,200 per cent, spread to several other Southern States. This excitement was checked by the collapse that followed the Baring failure; and because the corner-lot booming and the founding of new towns have temporarily ceased, many people wrongly imagine that the general advancement of the South has received a severe blow. On the contrary, the future development of the South will be on a sounder basis and

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on a broader scale by reason of the lessons learned since the panic of 1890. The solid industrial interests of this section have stood the strain in a way to command universal attention and to prove to the world the claims made as to the superior advantages of the South. The fact that the largest iron company in Alabama, which is also one of the largest in the world, earned more money during its last fiscal year than ever before in its history, notwithstanding the extreme depression in iron, has made a deep impression upon iron men everywhere; and when a revival in business comes to the country at large, capital will seek the South as never before, because of the vitality displayed by its iron and other industrial interests during the last two years. In addition to the depression which has been felt throughout the business world since the Baring failure, the South has had to suffer from an overproduction of cotton, resulting in very low and unprofitable prices. This, however, is a matter which soon regulates itself, and will prove a blessing in disguise, as it has already driven Southern farmers to the cultivation of larger food crops. Present indications point to very large grain crops in the South, and a cotton crop sufficiently small to insure much better prices than those of last year. With these indications realized in the fall, Southern farmers will be more prosperous than for many years.

It would be a great error for the public to charge the present financial troubles of several Southern railroads to lack of business. The South is in no way responsible for this condition of affairs. To Wall Street speculators who for years have manipulated the securities of these roads to their own personal gain must be charged their bankruptcy. In no way, probably, can this be more clearly seen than by contrasting the management and its results of these now bankrupt roads with those of such roads as the Seaboard Air Line, the Atlantic Coast Line, the Norfolk & Western, and the Chesapeake & Ohio. While others were operated from Wall Street and made the foundation for new issues of securities almost without number, these were being managed in the interest of their stockholders and of the country tributary to them and without Wall Street manipulations. The Wall Street roads were driven into bankruptcy, the others have prospered and they have made prosperous the country along their lines. Let the blame rest where it belongs, and not on the South.

RICHARD H. EDMONDS.

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THE DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF A FORCE BILL.

AFTER years of peace, without special complaint from any portion of the country, the Republicans of the Fifty-first Congress deliberately offered and urged legislation now commonly known as the Force Bill. The people in the fall of 1890, at the ballot-box, repudiated both the party and the issue. Still the bill was pressed in the Senate, and with a desperate effort most of the Republican senators sought to make it a law. The Republican party now presents a candidate for President who has approved the measure, a candidate for Vice-President whose newspaper labored for its passage, and a platform which practically gives it an indorsement. In view of these facts, it is clear that a Force Bill is before the American people. They must decide upon its desirability at the polls in November.

The same men who prepared and supported the old Force Bill of 1890 and 1891 will have charge of the new Force Bill in 1893 and 1894. It is just to infer that their new Force Bill will be similar to their old Force Bill. The Force Bill of 1890–91 embraced a scheme for the appointment of supervisors who were to control Congressional elections. They were to be appointed by the circuit courts and to be backed by deputy United States marshals. The original bill gave them authority to visit private residences for the purpose of investigation, to inquire of wives and daughters about husbands and fathers concerning politics, nativity, residence, and anything else which the supervisors might think related to the right of suffrage. The supervisors could also carry on this mission, deputy marshals to aid the enforced examinations of women of families, while the men were away from home. This plan of supervision could be brought into any district in the Union on the application of one hundred men; and the number of officers, not including deputy marshals, who could then take charge of the district has been estimated at not less than six hundred. What district is there where there are not one hundred men so far below the standard of manhood as to ask for supervisors, if only for the purpose of becoming supervisors themselves? The circuit judge would first appoint his chief supervisor, and this man could

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practically organize the rest. The local authorities all over the district would then yield to this man and his associates.

This is a scheme to destroy home rule and local control. It is based either upon the idea that the people cannot be trusted and that one man is far better than the people, or it is a plan by which one man may organize a set of partisans to work in all elections. It is either undemocratic and unrepublican, a blow at popular government, a tremendous stride toward centralization and imperialism, or it is a deliberate plan to use officers of the Government as an electioneering *posse* in behalf of a particular party, to furnish them means to prepare for a fraudulent election, and then to complete the work through a board of canvassers, who are to declare the desired result and certify to it. Such an invasion of popular rights must be repulsive alike in every part of the land.

Indeed, the New York convention ratified our National Constitution in full confidence that until amendments might be adopted "the Congress will not make or alter any regulation in the State respecting the times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators or representatives, unless the legislature of this State shall neglect or refuse to make laws or regulations for the purpose, or from any circumstance be incapable of making the same; and that in those cases such power will only be exercised until the legislature of the State shall make provision in the premises." The conventions of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island also adopted the Constitution of the United States with similar declarations on this subject. The debates upon the Lodge Bill in the House of Representatives showed conclusively that the framers of the Constitution never contemplated the passage of such a bill as that which the Republican candidates now indorse.

The Force Bill if put into operation throughout the entire country would cost not less than $10,000,000 for every election, and would bring upon the people an additional force of about 350,000 office-holders. It certainly has the appearance of being a scheme to enable a favored class, after collecting more money from the masses than the wants of the Government require, to spend it for the purpose of perpetuating themselves in power. Such a law once put into operation would bring a protest from all over the land, but once having been enacted the protest would be of little value, for the supervisors and canvassers could easily perpetuate the political power of those who occupied the offices, despite the action of the voters at the polls. It

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cannot be possible that the people of the North and of the West will suffer such a system to be thrust upon them.

But the advocates of this measure insist that it is needed to protect the Negroes of the South. In truth, no greater calamity could befall the Negroes than such legislation. Their hope of development rests upon the kind feeling which now exists between the two races in the South, which is constantly increasing to the benefit of the Negroes as outside interference decreases. An impartial student of the situation in the South must see that the Negro's progress, intellectual, moral, and financial, during the past few years, has everywhere been dependent upon and proportioned to the lack of friction between himself and his white neighbor. The darkest hour of the history of the race was during the period when the Negroes were controlled and led by men who knew little about them, and who controlled them by playing upon their prejudices against the white men who had been their masters.

Although a great deal has been written and spoken upon the race problem, I must give a brief sketch of the present relation of the two races in the South and of the causes which have led up to it. Immediately after the war, with more than one-half of the white men of the South left dead upon the battle-fields, the rest found their slaves free and with the right to vote. They found them also led by the worst class of Southern whites, and by men from other sections who had come into the South solely for the purpose of taking control of the Negroes to see what could be made by using them. The bulk even of the whites were disfranchised, and the designing leaders of the Negroes, luring this kind but credulous race on with false promises, aroused in them the bitterest hostility toward their former owners, and took them like flocks of sheep to the polls to vote into office incompetent and dishonest men. For several years this condition continued, but broken promises and disappointed hopes began to create among the Negroes distrust of their white allies, and with it they ceased taking much interest in elections. For this reason they stopped voting by the thousands. In 1870 the Negroes were in a worse condition than on the day when they were made free, and they began to turn again for counsel and assistance to those who before 1865 had provided for them. This change of affairs soon threw their worthless leaders out of power, and by 1877 every Southern State was controlled by the white people. Another element of aid to the white people in obtaining control of their local affairs was the fact that the

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Negroes naturally scattered. Many of them moved from the Southern into the Northern and Western States, and the whites were increased in number by immigration from those sections. Those who came South for business and not for political purposes took the side of the resident whites.

During the time that white people were struggling to obtain control of their local affairs and to protect themselves from the incompetent and dishonest who were impoverishing the country by misrule and by robbery, the friction which existed between the two races prevented any serious consideration of a final solution of the race problem. With the change, the most intelligent of the white people began fully to realize the importance to the South of the mental and moral growth of this new factor in political and practical affairs. The Negroes having become free men and voters, constituting, as they did, the bulk of the labor of the South, if the South was to grow rich the net product of Negro labor must be increased. Free from the necessity of enforced labor, they must be inspired with a willingness and desire to work. They must be taught economy and industry; and for a number of years past the most intelligent white people of the South have exercised more and more their influence for the development of the Negro. Local schools supported voluntarily by taxation on the property of the white people are being used to improve the race.

This condition of affairs exists throughout the entire State of Georgia, and I have no doubt in most parts of the entire South. Here the Negro now turns to his Democratic white friends for assistance to purchase a lot to build his home on, or to buy his little farm, or to help make his crop; and this help is given more and more cheerfully as the last recollection of the conflict of 1870 is removed from memory. In local politics, party nominations are now seldom made. The Negro is given an equal voice in the choice of representatives. This is especially true in municipal affairs. In many Southern cities there have been no party nominations for years. At Atlanta I do not recall one for more than ten years. Mayors, aldermen, and councilmen are voted for without regard to politics; and if a citizens' ticket is put out, the best classes of Negroes, especially the property-holders, join those of the whites interested in good government to make up and to elect a ticket. In 1870 there was not a Negro child in the public schools of Atlanta. To-day there are nearly 2,500 in the grammar schools, the schools being supported chiefly by the taxes voluntarily imposed by the white people upon their own property. Not only is every

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facility given them to vote, but the tendency is, with the subsidence of race feeling, to avoid nominations, leaving every voter an equal right to exercise his choice on election day. In 1870 practically no property was held in Georgia by Negroes; to-day they pay taxes upon $14,196,735 of property, the greater part of which has been acquired since 1880. Any honest man, knowing the facts, will admit that with complete freedom in this section from outside interference the race problem is solving itself by pleasanter relations, by the substantial effort on the part of the intelligent whites to do all possible, both personally and through legislation, to develop the Negroes. With an experience of nearly twenty years constantly in the court-houses of Georgia, I can truthfully say that in criminal as well as civil litigation the Negroes' rights are absolutely protected.

This condition of affairs, desirable as it certainly is, can be maintained only where friction is avoided between the two races; for with the indication of an aggressive struggle between them, the influence of those whites who might desire to continue legislation favorable to the development of the Negro would cease. The mass of whites, their prejudices reinflamed, would not follow the conservative men of their own race. It is by the influence of the more intelligent whites that the best legislation and the best help can be given. It is through the influence of the more intelligent of the Negroes upon their own race that the best use can be made by them of this help. If the South be let alone, conditions will continue to improve until every right will be conceded to the Negro and all justice enforced in his behalf.

The Southern people are emotional. Aroused by antagonism, they are determined and aggressive. Appealed to as a matter of justice in behalf of a weaker race, they are kind and generous, forbearing and sympathetic. Nothing has been more common for the past few years in Georgia than to see the governors of the State present at Negro colleges or churches, aiding by word and counsel those Negroes who are seeking to help develop their race. Ex-Governor Gordon, the chivalrous soldier, for four years worked enthusiastically to that end. The present executive, Governor Northen, does the same thing to-day. They and several of their predecessors have been heartily supported by many others, urging sympathy and aid from the whites toward the development of the Negroes. A public sentiment is being aroused by those high in office doing all possible to develop the Negro, upon whom, in part, the national prosperity of the South must depend, and to help build him up for a higher and better service of citizenship.

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This effort is more surely securing for him all that the law allows at the ballot-box, both in local and national elections, than could be secured by double the number of supervisors and canvassing boards provided by the Force Bill. Besides, a voice in local elections is of more importance to the Negro than in national elections. In local elections it helps his school facilities, his standing before courts and juries, and his position generally in the place of his home. His vote in national elections could only be of more service to him if cast with the Democratic party; a high tariff lessens the fruits of his labor. If it be said that Georgia treats the Negro with more liberality than other Southern States, my argument is strengthened. Georgia first was freed from outside interference and given, therefore, more time to work off friction between the races, through the free action of her own people.

Everything is now favorable; but suppose a Force Bill were passed. What a change would be made! There would be in Georgia about six thousand supervisors, besides deputy marshals and canvassing boards, whose business under the bill would be to stir up the ignorant Negroes, to arouse in their breasts prejudices against their white neighbors, to fill their minds with political aspirations; in a word, to put them in a state of discontent and feverish excitement and make them unwilling and unfit for labor. This conduct would not affect those Negroes who have succeeded in accumulating property; it would not affect the best of the race, but it would destroy their influence over the rest. It would check their efforts to make them honest, economical, and industrious. What condition would result? Conscious of this change on the part of the Negroes, the white people would resume their old plan of strict nominations in local affairs. The municipal, the county, and the legislative officers would again be selected by party or color-line nominations, which would exclude all local influence on the part of the Negroes, except in a few counties where they would be able to select their own candidates. Office-holders representing the consolidated white vote, brought together by Negro antagonism, would be a natural result. The influence of the most intelligent whites in favor of Negro schools and legislation looking to the improvement of the Negro would be lost in the bitterness which the differences would engender. The Negro himself would be thrown back where he was in 1870. The prejudices inspired would seriously injure the labor of the South.

The cotton crop of the South is produced largely by Negro labor. That a Force Bill would materially affect this crop is abundantly shown

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by going back to the condition which existed in 1869 and 1870, and by seeing how small the product of the cotton fields was then. A commercial shock would be given to the entire South. This will hardly be doubted by any one. It is not my purpose to make an appeal in behalf of the Southern people to protect them from this result. It is to show how men in the North and West will feel this shock almost as much as we should feel it in the South.

Large quantities of money have been invested in the South from the North and from the West, both by direct purchases of land and by loans upon Southern securities. The shock which the Force Bill would produce upon the resources of the South would doubtless lessen by one-half the value of these investments. But that is not all. The great product of the South is cotton. This is sold and the money is spent in the North and the West. The merchants and the manufacturers of the North supply the South with clothing and nearly all of the materials used in every-day life. The farmers of the West supply the South with grain, meat, and stock. The South is a commercial part of the Union. She is dependent upon the North and West; and as she depends upon them they commercially depend upon her. Strike down the progress of the one, and you cripple the progress of the others. Destroy the growth, harass the business, lessen the crops of the South, by renewing the intense hostility between the races (and a Force Bill would surely do it), and for years the merchants and manufacturers of the North and the agriculturists of the West would suffer along with us from the blows they had helped to deal directly to us, indirectly to themselves. That such a calamity may be avoided should be the earnest hope of every loyal citizen of our common country.

HOKE SMITH.

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LITERATURE AS A CAREER.

In the remarks which follow, it must be understood that I speak of things as they obtain in my country. And perhaps a few words of explanation may be accepted as regards the comparison which I have to make between literature as a profession and the other recognized professions. The distinguishing points about the recognized professions —including the church, the law, medicine, the services, education, and certain branches of science—are these: 1. The pay is regulated. In the services, in education, and in science it is by way of salary, and that not high; in law and medicine, by way of fixed fee and regulated scale of charges—those not high. So that though there are very great prizes in these professions, they are few in number. Those who enter the professions do so, for the most part, with a full knowledge that they are not to become rich. 2. The regulation of the pay means that there is no fighting for money, no ignoble cutting down and underselling. This is an enormous advantage. The professions are independent. 3. All professions are fenced about with a high wall. No one can enter without passing a severe series of examinations, the preparation for which costs a large sum of money and keeps the candidate at study till the age of twenty-one or twenty-two. 4. The prizes of professions—the honors—those of bishop, judge, solicitor-general, lord chancellor, general, the order of the Bath, a peerage —fall as a rule to the best men. 5. All the professions have their central body, which protects the interests of the craft, admits candidates on examination, excludes unworthy members and prohibits them from practising.

Now, with these facts before us for comparison, let us take the profession of letters: In the first place, any one who chooses may enter this profession. It is impossible to keep any one out. If the strictest examinations were devised in order to hedge it round, some young fellow in some country paper would write in disregard of them and would take the world by storm. It is anybody's profession—no college, institute, or academy can close its doors—all the world can come in. Again, in any other profession there is a common standard of good

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work. In literature there is a kind—without doubt the highest kind—which pleases the refinement of five hundred or five thousand who possess the highest culture possible. That is a very rare kind. There are not a dozen living writers of our language who quite satisfy the standard of this small class. But there are lower standards—those which appeal to the better class, the class whose literary taste is not so keen, so subtle, as that of the first class, yet is sound and wholesome. And there are lower standards and lower still, till we reach the depths of the penny novelette, the journal which is a scrap-book, the halfpenny sheet of ballads. Yet it is all literature, the literature of the nation, the literature of the people, from highest to lowest. At no point on this ladder of printed sheets can one stop and say, "Here literature ends."

The ever-open door of literature is sometimes considered an encouragement. In a sense it is. No one can be kept out. That seems a great thing. Every man who thinks he has a voice and a thing to say may say it if he pleases. Many think so daily and essay to speak, yet never get a hearing. In another sense it is a discouragement, because this very freedom makes it so much more difficult to consider literature as a profession. Formerly there was a school of prophets; the greatest attention was paid at that school to style, to the right balance of the verses, and to the rules of composition. Yet there was no safety for the school; every now and then a man came out of Gilead clothed in a sheepskin, and, without any attention at all to style and rules, led all the people after him. And so it has been ever since. Yet one would not break up that school. It did good work. Such a school might still do good work. The most important function of the French Academy has not been to make its dictionary, but to maintain literature on the same level as other liberal professions; to rank its followers with those who follow scholarship; to make its leaders *officially* the equals of judges, barristers, physicians. When we succeed in getting such an institution in Great Britain, we shall take the first step toward securing for literature a general recognition of its position as a profession. Other advantages may perhaps follow; this seems to me the first and the most important.

Meantime, anybody who can may enter the profession. Its followers are scattered units; there is no cohesion, no combination among them for their material interests; every man manages his own affairs for himself as best he can. That is to say, he cannot manage them at all, because the elements, the principles of his business have been

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carefully concealed from him. He is helpless. Even in the rare cases of assured success he is absolutely helpless. The literary papers encourage this helplessness; they enlarge upon the generosity of publishers, ignoring the fact that this so-called "generosity" reduces the poet to the condition of a mendicant dependent on the doles of his master! A London publisher died the other day, and the papers have since been full of his "generosity" and his "liberality." Is it not wonderful that in a community of business men this sort of talk should still be continued? In what other line of intellectual work would a man submit without indignation to be considered a workman without rights, a mendicant, a helpless dependent, the mere recipient of bounty and charity? Can one figure the physician standing hat in hand before his patient—"Oh, sir, this is too much! You are indeed generous! Heaven itself will bless— Another shilling? The starting tear betrays the grateful heart." Or a barrister? Or a solicitor? Or a clergyman? It is ridiculous. Yet this is supposed to be the attitude of the man of letters, and any attempt on his part to get his affairs put upon a proper business basis is resented by the agent as if it were the greatest insult possible and as if the property belonged to him—indeed, he generally makes it his own—instead of to its creator.

All the other professions have their central college or their institute, which is maintained and endowed for the sole purpose of maintaining the interests of its own profession. What has the calling of letters? The "Royal Society of Literature" is a small decaying association which meets occasionally for the reading of papers. I suppose its own members would not claim for it that it does anything or tries to do anything at all for literature. The "Royal Literary Fund" relieves writers who are in difficulties; it is indeed doing invaluable work, but only in this direction. There is the "Society of Authors": until the last year or two it was a very small society, though with ambitious aims; it is now growing powerful and its aims are grown more ambitious. There are even hopes that this society will ultimately do for literature what the Inns of Court do for law and the College of Physicians does for the medical profession; that is to say, that it will be powerful enough to regulate by fixed principles the management of literary property; that it will be disgraceful for a man of letters not to be a member of the society; that by its influence literature in every branch will take its place as a recognized and honorable profession.

The greatest discouragement to literature at the present moment—

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the cardinal discouragement—is the want of fixed principles as regards the management. This it is which makes every man who writes a book dread above all things making his own business arrangements. He does not know what the agreement should be; he hates to seem exorbitant and grasping; his very soul loathes the attitude of a mendicant. The other man, thoroughly experienced in these emotions, watches him, waits for his chance, speaks smooth things, hopes success, hints at great risks and dangers, suggests his own magnanimity in undertaking these risks, and at the right moment, the critical moment, proposes an arrangement by which he will get nine-tenths of the proceeds. The author signs, half-ashamed of himself, half-conscious of trickery, but above all things anxious to have his book published. When the accounts come in he is mad, but then it is too late. This little comedy is enacted with nearly every book that is published. The publisher considers nothing but the getting of the property into his own hands, on his own terms; the author, helpless and ignorant, yet suspicious and resentful, yields up his property as meekly as a cow yields up her milk. No worker in the world, not even the needlewoman, is more helpless, more ignorant, more cruelly sweated than the author. Therefore in a country, like Great Britain, of trade and business, that is, of enterprise, struggle, and battle; in a country, like ours, where honor of all kinds is rightly bestowed upon the victorious, contempt is the lot of the author. Contempt must indeed be the lot of those who are never victorious, whose spoils are always taken from them, who cannot combine, cannot fight, cannot defend their own property.

So far, it must be owned, we have not discovered many encouragements to the literary life. Let us continue to dwell a little longer upon the discouragements. This contempt of letters is often vehemently denied. Yet, in Great Britain, it exists deep down in the national heart—not contempt for the work, understand; if that were so, then, indeed, of all mankind we should be the most miserable. The contempt is for the men who produce that work. Consider, there grows up gradually, in the course of generations, for every profession, a spectre, a phantom, an image, with outlines more or less dim, yet in its general details plain to see and to understand. To the judge, the barrister, the solicitor, the physician, the general practitioner, to every kind of trade, belongs its own phantom. The newer lines of work—those of journalist, engineer, electrician, physicist—have not yet developed their spectres: they will gradually arise and take shape. What

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is the spectre of the literary man? It is that of a creature wholly incapable of conducting business of any kind; one whose opinion on any subject is not worth anything; that of one not practical; who cannot be trusted; who is a fool as to his own affairs; who allows himself to be plundered and robbed, a creature in every relation of life foolish and contemptible, who yet produces things which the world loves to receive and to read. This man—which the world does not consider—this man so unpractical and so foolish, actually guides, leads, teaches, inspires, delights, admonishes the world; this man, whose opinion cannot be trusted, teaches the world what opinions it should hold. Yet it is all true: he is contemptible because he cannot manage his own affairs, and he cannot do this because that management has been carefully concealed from him hitherto by his own agent.

This contempt, I repeat, is denied as often as it is asserted. That is because the contempt for the workman is one thing and admiration for his work is another. Yet if any doubt the contempt, let them consider the language and ideas of leading articles on the subject; I say leading articles, because there is nothing that more vividly and more truly expresses the opinion of the day. They do not, it is true, call the writing tribe contemptible in so many words, but they do always speak of them as naturally dependent, not on their work, but on their publishers. For instance, there are few men in England of broader mind than the editor of the "Spectator." Yet even he, in a note written a few weeks ago, spoke of the publisher as formerly the patron of literature—which he never has been—and of that "old position" as "fine and gracious." That is to say, it is fine and gracious for the author to be a dependent and a mendicant! Now, this has always been, outside the literary life, the prevailing estimate.

Again, there happened five years ago a thing which Americans will hardly believe—I have mentioned it already, but I repeat it because it ought not to be forgotten: At the greatest national function which has ever been celebrated in England, when we rejoiced solemnly and thanked God for a reign of fifty years of unexampled progress—at this function, to which were invited representatives of every profession and almost every calling, *there was not invited one single man or woman of letters, as such.* Why? Because the official mind in every country, which always represents, measures, and illustrates the Philistinism of a country, has not yet risen to the consideration of literature as a profession, or of historians, essayists, poets, novelists, as persons worth regarding. To red tape and Bumble they

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do not exist. In America such an omission would be impossible. Why, if it was made, the whole of the States, from Massachusetts to the newest Territory, would raise one consenting voice of reprobation; in France it would be impossible; in Germany, the mere possibility of such an insult to letters could not be so much as suggested. In no country could it be done except in Great Britain. And here it was done. And here no one perceived the omission. Here, so far as I know, not a single paper took up the thing. The contempt for letters could not be more signally shown, more clearly proved.

Well—but here is another and a more recent case. The other day a bust of Richard Jefferies, the latest of that little company of whom Gilbert White and Thoreau are leaders, was unveiled in Salisbury Cathedral, the mother church of his diocese. A little ecclesiastic ceremony was arranged; prayers were read; an address was delivered by the bishop and another by the dean. Now, this monument was given to the cathedral by a small number of Jefferies' admirers; there was a London committee to get together the money required. The committee and the greater number of the subscribers were literary men, some of them men of great eminence. It will hardly be believed that not a single man of letters was present on the occasion. Even the committee were not invited; *not a single man of letters was invited.* Yet the bishop and the dean are scholars and gentlemen. Why did they not invite the living *confrères* of Jefferies to assist in rendering this honor to their dead friend? Because these *confrères* were literary men. Because it never occurred to the functionaries of the cathedral that there was such a thing as a calling of literature. "O land of Philistia!" cries the American reader. Truly. Yet to change the name of Britannia to that of Philistia will not by itself mend matters.

Here, again, is another proof of official and national contempt for letters and calling. Let us once more remember that we must not confuse this contempt with contempt for the work produced, which does not exist, even in Great Britain. Rightly or wrongly, wisely or foolishly, we have in this country the institution of rank. There is hereditary rank from duke to baronet; there are also various orders of knighthood—the Garter, the Bath, the Thistle, St. Michael and St. George, the Star of India, the Knight Bachelor. These distinctions are supposed to be awarded for services to the state. They are, as a matter of fact, awarded in the most capricious and happy-go-lucky way possible. One man of science—only one—gets made a peer;

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another, equally great, is offered the lowest order of knighthood, which he contemptuously refuses. A man makes vast sums in a brewery and is made a peer; another, equally rich, becomes a baronet. The mayor of a country town, the clerk of a city company, the greatest traveller of modern days, the greatest physician in the country, the greatest musician—are all alike rewarded by being made knight bachelors. The others—the superior orders—are reserved for the services, and especially for the army.

Now, I am not prepared, in an American magazine, to defend the institution of rank. But we must take things as they are. In every country where it exists, that is, in all European countries, those callings which are *outside* the pale of distinctions are regarded with a certain contempt. Thus while a man who has a big brewery may obtain a peerage, a man with a big draper's shop cannot hope even for a knighthood save in connection with civic honors. Literature, like retail trade, cobbling, and chimney-sweeping, is excluded rigorously from distinction. What is the nation, then, to think of literature as a calling? It is—it must be—as one worthy of no honor. Wealth may be regarded; lawyers, physicians, surgeons, architects, sculptors, painters, engineers, may all look for rank and distinction—but not literature. Tennyson, it is true, is a peer; but he is the lonely single example, he is the exception. Browning was never offered anything. Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, Swinburne—what has been offered to these great writers? Perhaps they would take nothing. That is quite another thing. The fact remains that the official mind has not conceived it possible that literature should be deemed worthy of such honors as the nation has to bestow. One of two things seems to follow: either the production of noble literature is not a service to the nation or the national honors are of no value.

A nation which professes to confer distinction upon its leading men, and refuses distinction to any one branch of service does its very best to bring contempt upon that branch. Who, for instance, would go into the Royal Engineers if that corps were excluded from the military orders, the rank, the titles, the honors that are freely bestowed upon the cavalry and the line? Would not this branch of the service fall into contempt? Yet that is exactly what is done to the literary branch of the service. Perhaps it would be best to abolish all rank. I only maintain that while rank is continued, to exclude any liberal profession is to insult and to degrade that profession in the eyes of the nation.

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I have already elsewhere pointed out this absurdity; it has been received in a way which illustrates—one could not wish for a better illustration—the very things I maintain. The "Spectator," for instance, in a long article assumed that I wanted all writers of distinction to be knighted. Observe that the mind of the writer of that article—in a paper recognized for its breadth and good sense—could not possibly rise above the lowest and least form of distinction. The writer could not conceive it possible that a man of letters should dare, should presume to hope, for more than an honor which would put him on the same level as a city sheriff. Of course, what I claimed was that literature, like law and the services, should be open to everything, even to the highest rank of the peerage. It is idle to talk about Englishmen not desiring rank; they do desire it. Many solid things go with rank; a newly-made baronet, for instance, is received everywhere with a certain consideration, and social consideration is a very real thing. Few Englishmen ever refuse rank except certain statesmen, in their own interests—Gladstone could not, every one feels, accept a peerage—but these cases are very, very few. There are certain old families which are proud of having refused titles for many hundreds of years, but these also are very few. Certain great scientific men have refused rank because the humble knighthood generally offered them is too ludicrous, and they do not desire hereditary rank, to which it is felt money should be attached. And most men of letters would certainly refuse the proffer of the lowest distinction. Yet it would be good for the nation that even by such an offer their services to the country should be recognized. Meantime the most remarkable point in the Victorian age will probably be the fact that the men who made the greatest glory of the age—the men of science and of literature—received no honor, no recognition, no encouragement, from the advisers of the Victorian court. They have been absolutely neglected.

Then again, to go back to the question of dollars. In other professions there are many great and solid prizes. A very successful lawyer may make ten thousand pounds a year; many lawyers make five or six thousand pounds a year. A very successful physician may make fifteen thousand pounds a year; many physicians make five or six thousand pounds a year. Of engineers it is notorious that many have made colossal fortunes; of architects, solicitors, accountants, actuaries, the same may be said. Even in the Church there are bishoprics, deaneries, canonries, and benefices which in comparison with the majority may be reckoned fat. There are thousands in every

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profession to whom these prizes are absolutely unattainable: the rank and file remain without promotion because they lack the ability to rise. Professional success means ability of a special and unusual kind. But these prizes glorify the profession—even the profession of the Church—and they give it dignity in the eyes of the world, to whom a poorly remunerated calling is always more or less contemptible.

Now turn to the literary profession. It is, to begin with, in the popular estimation, regarded as a poor and beggarly trade. People cannot be persuaded that there is any income to be got out of it. They think of Johnson sending his publisher that famous note, "*Impransus*"; yet Johnson was actually poor for only a very brief space, only while his wife was in the country and he was in town. They remember Goldsmith's distresses, yet forget that Goldsmith was a spendthrift and that he made while at his best over two thousand pounds a year. They think of Chatterton starving—but they forget that he was only a boy, ignorant of the town and its resources. They think of the "Royal Literary Fund," with its annual dinner and its annual appeal for the poor author. They think of Savage, Otway, and the whole tribe of starveling poets; but they forget the sufficiency, if not the affluence, that awaited Southey and Leigh Hunt and many others. They read how publishers have "generously" given this and that sum; the tale is taken up by the papers and is made the subject of leading articles. So that this literary calling, though the work produced may be almost divine, though it provide thought, teaching, leading, amusement, for the whole world, appears in the light of a company of hungry poets, all with their hats off before the man who has got the bag, imploring and beseeching and begging for "generosity."

Things are not quite so bad. Yet when, not long ago, a statement was made in the "Author" that there were fifty men and women in Great Britain and the States who were making a thousand pounds a year and upward by writing novels, the statement was received with derisive laughter. Fifty novelists making a thousand a year? Impossible! Preposterous! The statement, however, was made by one who knew what he was saying. It is a true statement; it represents the real prizes of the profession. There are in London alone, it is said, fifteen thousand people who in some branch or other exercise the literary profession. Fifty of them by writing novels make over a thousand pounds a year. What do the rest make? This brings us to the consideration of the modern literary life—what it is.

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First of all, those who frankly live by writing have of late years received an immense enlargement of independence by the development of journalism. It is not too much to say that forty years ago almost the only papers for which scholars wrote were the "Times" and the newly founded "Saturday Review." We all remember the journalism depicted by Thackeray—Captain Shaldon in the debtor's prison: the critic who seizes the books and cuts up the author in a tavern. All that is changed. The editorials of the great journals in London and in the country are written by scholars and gentlemen; journalists of the better kind have their clubs and their suburban houses. It is reckoned a fortunate thing, as well as a most honorable thing, to occupy a position as leader-writer on a great daily. Then, again, there is another departure of quite recent date. The new fashion of journalism depends less upon its staff of regular leader-writers, with whom there is the danger that they may not keep abreast of the day, than upon the special papers invited by the editor, contributed and signed by men who happen to be authorities upon the subject. This opens up a great field. And the number of papers is simply enormous; there seems no end to them. Every trade, every profession, has its organ. The circulation of the weekly penny papers may be reckoned at many millions; all these papers vie with each other in getting the best fiction, the most striking articles possible; they offer a means of subsistence—not a mere pittance, but a handsome income—to hundreds of writers. Out of one office alone there is poured every week a mass of fiction representing as much bulk as an ordinary three-volume novel. The daily papers with their leading articles; the high-class weeklies, such as the "Saturday Review," the "Spectator," the "Athenæum," the "Guardian," the "Speaker," and a few others, with their leaders political and social and their reviews, give occupation to a large number of the best literary men and women, and the popular weeklies employ a much larger number of the rank and file.

As for the monthly magazines, they form also an additional staff, not a crutch, for the writer. In a little analysis undertaken a short time ago, I discovered that taking the seven leading magazines for the last three years, out of eight hundred articles, on all the topics which have occupied our thoughts during that time, three hundred and twenty, or two-fifths, were written on some point connected with the literary craft by writers who were also scholars. Further, that the number of these writers was about seventy, which represents an average of four

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and a half papers by each writer during the three years. One cannot, therefore, live by writing for the monthlies. There are now, however, so many of these that if a man has anything to say he can reckon on finding some place where he will be allowed to speak.

All these papers, all these weekly journals, all these monthy magazines require editors. Scores of editors are wanted; most of them are not expected to give their whole time to their official posts. Thus many editors are men of letters engaged for part of the day in their own work. For instance, Thackeray edited the "Cornhill"; Mr. Leslie Stephen and Mr. James Payn have been his successors—both busy men of letters. Mr. Hepworth Dixon was for fifteen years editor of the "Athenæum"; Mr. Mowbray Morris edits "Macmillan"; Mr. Alfred Austin edits the "National"; Mr. Walter Pollock edits the "Saturday Review"; Mr. Hutton edits the "Spectator"; with many other instances. A literary man of the present day, therefore, may carry on all his literary work—all that he can do—for as many hours of the day as is good for him, together with as much journalistic work as will suffice to render him independent of his publisher. This is an enormous gain. Perhaps it has its dangers: the papers become exacting; they may grow too attractive; they may absorb a man so that he will produce little beyond his work for the Ephemerides. Here, again, the philosopher may remark that those men are few indeed whose original work may be considered so precious that the loss of it cannot be supplied.

The number of men who actually live by the production of original work, apart from journalism in any of its branches, is comparatively small. There are half a dozen dramatists; about a hundred novelists; a few successful writers of educational books, which are indeed a mine of wealth if one can succeed; and a few publishers' hacks. The greatest prizes are those of the dramatists. But the stage is a fortress very hard to take: many there are who sit down before it and presently retire vanquished. They console themselves, for the most part, with the reflection that their plays are too good for the theatre-goer. One would not disturb them in the belief. At the same time we may whisper that a good play—one which strikes the imagination, holds the audience, fills the house with tears and laughter, a strong play, a bold play, a skilful play—is never too good for any audience, not even the much-abused audience of a London playhouse.

There are over fifty novelists, as has been already stated, in

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America and Great Britain whose income from the literary calling amounts to more than a thousand pounds a year. The most common method of procedure here is to sell the serial right first and to make a new arrangement for the volume form. Of course the new copyright act will make a great difference with novelists who are so happy as to have a following on both sides of the Atlantic. There is a broad step between these novelists and those whose hold of the public is less secure. There is a broader step still between the second rank of popularity and the third and those below it. The three-volume system has produced one very remarkable result: it allows the existence of some fifty writers whose novels nobody wants. These novels, quite harmless, very dull, only read by girls in dull and monotonous houses, come out in three volumes. The publishers pay the writers from fifty to a hundred pounds for each novel; they know exactly how many copies will be taken by the circulating libraries, and they do not print one copy more. Their own profit is about double the amount given to the author. If there were no circulating libraries, with their subscribers crying "Give! give!" these novels would not appear. We need not pretend to any virtuous indignation at these productions, because they die as soon as they have answered their little purpose of filling the book-box, and because their authors have neither the courage nor the originality to write anything that would do harm to anybody.

Far below this level is a depth—dark, black, terrible—into which sink those hapless wretches who have attempted to live by writing fiction without the natural aptitude and the necessary equipment of learning, experience, and observation. One of these has written for me a brief account of his present condition. He is, I believe, a man of forty, or perhaps less. He began life with a fine enthusiasm and soaring ambitions. He would be a great writer. Well, he had, I believe, a certain thin vein which if cultivated carefully might have led to something. But he was ignorant. He belonged to the ranks of clerkery. He was educated in a school where the sons of clerks prepare for the life of clerkery. They do not teach much in these schools —arithmetic, bookkeeping, a good hand, care in spelling, the proper manner of commencing and ending and addressing a letter, perhaps shorthand, a pretence at French, perhaps a nibbling at Latin, a little geography, less history—this was all that the boy learned. Then he became a clerk, and presently tried to become a novelist. Understand that he knew nothing—nothing at all—of the constitution, laws, order, pro-

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fessions, society, manners and customs, universities, army, navy—in short, he knew nothing at all about his own country. But he began to write stories, all, really and truly, out of his own head. Presently, to his great unhappiness—which he did not at first suspect—his fervent prayers were answered to his own undoing, a way which the gods sometimes have. He sent a story to a certain editor, who accepted it and gave him a little advice about the *technique* of story-telling—of a kind. He had more stories accepted—and still more. Then he thought himself justified in giving up his clerkship and devoting his whole time to this weaving of conventional and unreal fiction for obscure magazines. In this occupation he has since continued. Indeed, he can do nothing else. It is an occupation in which there is cut-throat competition. He is married; he has children. He writes all day long and every day; he produces story after story; he is paid £2.10 for a story of twenty thousand words; he writes the penny "novelettes" that are sold by the ten thousand and bought by factory girls and servant girls. When things are desperate, he sends begging letters to men whose names he knows.

There would seem nothing lower or more miserable than the lot of those who try to earn a livelihood by the production of bad fiction. But there is a small—now rapidly decreasing—class more miserable still. It is the class which lives by manufacturing books not wanted. The maker of books—the man who first brought the name of author into contempt—is still with us, but he is rare. Heaven knows what first induced that man to make a book. He has no charm of style; he has neither fancy nor imagination nor wit nor humor; he cannot call up tears or laughter; he cannot arrest the attention; he never writes books that any human being cares to read; he spoils every subject which he touches; he bungles, blunders, and plunders. No one knows how or why he ever gets a commission to make any one of his books, but he does: he gets paid for every book—fifty pounds, seventy-five pounds, a hundred pounds. He is always impecunious; he lives from hand to mouth; the "Royal Literary Fund" regards him as a pensioner, so regular are his applications. When things are very hard, he, too, sends round the begging letter. Wretched, miserable, servile trade! You may see the few who remain in it at the British Museum reading-room. With the spread of education their occupation will vanish. The time has come when all the world can write at least as well as these poor denizens of Grub Street. The time has come when only those who have a thing to say will secure a hearing.

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Once more—what are the encouragements to the literary life? You have seen there are apparently none. The first, the essential encouragement to any profession, that it should be independent of the employer—as the physician, the barrister, the solicitor, the architect, the beneficed clergyman, is independent—is wanting in the literary life. I believe we shall succeed in conferring this independence upon writers, in which case we shall render to literature a service greater than has ever yet been dreamed of or attempted, a service which shall at once lift the author to the same level as the lawyer or the physician. There are no great prizes or emoluments. That is true, but the prizes are substantial. A man who does good work will then be assured of the prizes that belong to him. There are but few who can afford to live by writing novels, plays, poems, essays, or the like. Most true: and whatever happens, the number must always remain comparatively few. But the literary life can be carried on with many other things—in the civil service, for instance—with any pursuit which does not demand all the thoughts during all the day. One of our living poets is a solicitor; two others are in the civil service; one of our living novelists is a grower of fruit for the London markets; another was for twenty years the secretary of a society. Of other successful writers the larger number are journalists. So let them continue. Far better, though it limit the production, than to join the crowd of those who have to besiege publishers' doors and to beg humbly for better terms.

No encouragements to the literary life? Of outside encouragement, none, none, none. Why, then, this rush, this competition, this ardent yearning, which draw thousands to try their fortune, year after year, with poem, novel, or with play? Hundreds, thousands of MSS. are on their travels at this moment from publisher to publisher. One recognizes them by the marks on the outside page. This number shows the hand of the house; this mark reveals the fact that another house has refused it, and so on. Why is it, if there are no encouragements? There are two reasons. The first, the simplest, the reason which accounts for ninety-nine out of every hundred, is that it seems, of all ways of making money, the easiest. Girls especially are gifted with the facile pen. They all want money; they want to be independent; they envy the girl who makes her own income and lives as she pleases. To write a novel seems the easiest way. They do write that novel; they glow with anticipation of success; then comes the time of bitterness and of disappointment. Needless to say, they

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find that the way to fame and fortune is not so easy as it seems. The belief that money is easily made by literature—that is the chief reason why these thousands of pens in these islands are rushing, flying, driving across the everlasting plains—the endless prairie—of paper.

But it is not the only reason. There remains the man or woman born for the work. His gift may be small, his vein slender. But he is a man of letters from his youth upward. The encouragement to him is that writing is the breath of his life; he must say what is in him; he has a message of some kind; he has a power of some kind; if he cannot preach he can paint; language to him is a force, an instrument, a vehicle, unknown to the vulgar; words and phrases are living things; a happy turn rejoices him; an unexpected phrase fills him with joy. He knows the meaning of style and form—happy if he is not carried by love of style so far as to forget that style is nothing if there is nothing behind it—as fine clothes are nothing without a living body beneath them. To him writing is a continual joy when, which is not always, he can command his thoughts and force them under the yoke of language. This exercise of force makes writing a struggle as well as a joy; there is battle in it; there is defeat; there is victory in it.

The first and greatest encouragement of the literary life at the present moment is the joy of it. The next encouragement is the honor of success. We have dwelt so much upon the contempt of literature that this may seem a contradiction. It is not, however, any contradiction. Side by side with the general contempt for the literary class there exists a profound admiration—nay, a love—for the man who has succeeded. Not because he has succeeded, but because, in order to succeed as a poet, a dramatist, a novelist, even an essayist, one must touch the hearts of people. We love—we cannot choose but love—the man or the woman who can touch our hearts. Go to the church, listen to the scholarship, the sound doctrine, the logic, of the learned divine in the pulpit. You listen and you go away; you have learned something, perhaps, but you feel no gratitude to the teacher. In another pulpit hard by there stands a man who speaks from his heart. The eyes of the people are riveted upon him; they are motionless; he has carried them out of themselves: when they go home their hearts glow within them, their cheeks burn. Which of the two preachers does the world love? It is so with actors, with orators, with all who teach or preach or play or amuse. The world loves the successful man because he commands their love. He touches

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their hearts. Therefore, while they despise the helpless dependent, the uncertain, unpractical trade of letters, they love the man of letters who can move them. Perhaps the two encouragements are powerful enough to counterbalance all the discouragements.

To conclude, the discouragements are all of such a nature that they may be remedied. It is quite possible to place the man of letters on the same footing of independence as is now occupied by the barrister and the physician. It is quite possible to create such a body, not a servile copy of the French Academy, as shall exercise a restraining influence upon extravagance and a certain guiding influence in taste. This done, recognition by the state will naturally follow. One does not crave for the ordinary titles and distinctions. Science is ennobled by "Fellowship of the Royal Society." Literature might perhaps be most fitly ennobled in the same way. The defence and protection of authors by some central body must also be provided—this has already been attempted, with a fair measure of success. All these things are possible and practicable. All, we hope, will be undertaken; all, we hope, will be carried through by men and women of letters acting together as a company, a guild, a profession, an association.

WALTER BESANT.

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AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE IRISH QUESTION.

THE very closeness of our relations with England has been a cause of friction between us, our very similarities have produced jealousies; but notwithstanding these jealousies and this friction, I do not believe the mass of Americans desire to have the British Empire broken up and her influence in Europe lessened. We like to criticise her, we like to ridicule those who indiscriminately imitate everything that is English; but after all there are certain fundamental qualities and instincts of the race common to us both on which we pride ourselves, on which we build our hope of national continuance, and which we wish to see extended in the world. There is a certain sense of justice and fair play, a love of individual freedom exceeding the love of present ease and comfort, and a detestation of unfairness, from which have sprung the specific institutions of the *habeas-corpus* acts, public trial by jury and other rights of the accused, the freedom of the press and public debate, the right of petition and the consent of the governed which Americans took with them when they came to this land and have cherished ever since as their fondest possessions.

We are cousins by blood. The population of the United States has a much larger percentage of Englishmen and descendants of Englishmen than of any other race. At the adoption of our Constitution the inhabitants were almost wholly of English and Scotch descent. The few Irish were not Catholic Celts, but Scoto-Irish Presbyterians from Ulster. From 1787 to 1847 there was very little immigration into the United States, not exceeding a million in all, and of that England furnished a good portion. Out of a total white population of 43,400,000 in 1880, undoubtedly 32,600,000, or about 75 per cent, were natives, born of native parents or those born of British and British-American parents. The Irish immigrants and children of Irish make up but a trifle over ten per cent of the white population. The good feeling *au fond*, the cousinly sentiments, are, it seems to me, mutual. During our Civil War we had, it is true, to bear many galling things from part of the English press and from persons high in political and social life, even now hard to overlook; but, on the other hand, we do not forget that the large majority of the English people favored the

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Federal Government of the United States. While several public meetings were held in England in favor of the American Union from 1861 to 1865, not one public meeting was held in favor of the side of secession. After the war was over, England was willing to arbitrate and pay for her neglect in letting the "Alabama" sail from her ports, and felt, as a member of the English cabinet said at the time, though the award was far too high, that it was but very little to pay if thereby the friendship of America was gained.

Tatnall, our American commodore, put it very well in 1859, when, siding with the English in a desperate fight on the Pecho River, in China, he exclaimed, "Blood is thicker than water." Politicians in this country sometimes try to score a point in an argument by playing on the lingering resentment toward England; and others of them and certain newspapers are so placed that they see a gain in appealing to an extreme separatist wing of Irishmen. The silent, unobtruded views of the great majority, however, cannot be judged fairly by the louder clamors of the few. There is, moreover, a fraction, by no means small, of the American people which takes the view of the English Conservatives and Unionists and sees nothing but danger to England and to Ireland herself in an Irish Parliament. On the whole, however, among the Americans who have given the subject attention there is, without any desire for separation or secession, great sympathy with a movement to obtain for Ireland some substantial form of local self-government. These Americans have what seems to them good historical grounds for this sympathy, and strong reasons drawn from their own experience for thinking that this self-government on local affairs would be a stronger bond of union between England and Ireland than any force applied by a British Parliament.

It is sometimes asked why the Americans, who so objected to any interference in their Civil War on the part of England, should now turn around and interest themselves in the Irish struggle for home rule. If it were separation for Ireland that interested us, the comparison would be more apt. During the Rebellion the Southern States were in arms against the Union, seeking to force the recognition of a separate government. Interference in such a case would have been a direct attack on the integrity and power of this country. The form of government to which the Southern States came back, and which has worked so well ever since, is the very form of government which is now desired for Ireland; that is, we object to a neutral power helping to split apart its neighbor. But sympathy with plans to secure the

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practical consent of the governed is sympathy with a fundamental English institution which we and the English have ever cherished and fought for. We think, too, our own experience with local self-government in our several States, as a means both of avoiding discord and of giving strength to our Union, furnishes us a right to an opinion that a similar plan might be for the great advantage of our English cousins, who, as we know, have not had the same object-lessons before their eyes that have been before ours.

I used the words "practical consent of the governed." Some one will immediately reply that Ireland has a representation in Parliament larger in proportion than either England or Scotland. True; but passing beyond this mere tribute to the principle, it has to be admitted that Ireland does not practically control her local affairs, and with that admission comes the assertion that she ought not to control them; and when it is asked, "Why ought she not?" it is answered, "Because she is not fit to rule herself." This is the vital point. It is this assertion, that she ought not, that gives rise to our historic sympathy. The parallel between our own struggle for the consent of the governed one hundred and seventeen years ago and that of Ireland now is certainly striking. What is the position of Irish home-rulers to-day? They wish to keep up complete union with England, to have an Irish Parliament with defined powers limited to local affairs; and even in these, the Imperial Parliament will still have the power, if its exercise is needed, to abrogate any law passed by the Irish Parliament. Tariff and excise, questions of peace and war, and other matters wholly of common and national interest, it is admitted, should be in the hands of the joint British and Irish or the Imperial Parliament. The principle seems to be that matters of general application ought to be settled by a general parliament, matters of special and local application by a local parliament; admitting, of course, exceptions, some to be temporary and some permanent. The chief complaint of the Irish is that, though represented in the British Parliament, they are wholly outvoted on local matters, and the wishes of the great majority of their representatives are ignored, while quite as serious is the fact that the Parliament in London is so engrossed with English, Scotch, and Imperial affairs that Irish matters have heretofore been wofully neglected.

The cause of our colonial ancestors and of Ireland to-day is substantially the same. In Ireland, as with us, the English government overlooks the real issue, and tries to pacify discontent by giving unasked-for favors with one hand and by forcibly repressing the de-

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mands for local self-rule with the other. The details of the situation with our ancestors differ somewhat from those in Ireland. We had no representation in the British Parliament, and Ireland has. We had local parliaments, though deprived of their powers; Ireland has not even this. Our ancestors, however, did not desire representation in an English Parliament. Though the popular cry was against taxation without representation, the representation sought was an effective and substantial one, and not its mere shadow. The colonists saw clearly that a few American members of Parliament in a helpless minority at Westminster would be of no service. A recent American historian speaks of the British Parliament of that time as a body in which the colonists "neither are nor practically can be represented"; and the members of the first Congress of the colonies on September 5, 1774, in their celebrated "Declaration of Rights and Liberties," after affirming allegiance to Great Britain, and their rights as "Englishmen" to be represented in the taxing body, stated in the fourth article "that the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot, be represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain," and in the next article they stated where they wished to be represented, namely, in their "respective legislatures." This is precisely the desire of Ireland to-day.

It is often supposed in England, as Thackeray asserted, that it was unwillingness to pay taxes that caused the revolution of the American colonies. Our contest was not over the taxes, but over the method of imposing them. It was in reality the very unwillingness on the part of England to see beyond taxes and acknowledge the claim for representation that caused our separation from her. She forgot that during the French war there was never any complaint that the colonies had failed to take, of their own free consent, their fair share of the burden both in money and troops. After that war was over, England for the first time undertook to tax the colonies without their consent, and then for the first time there was t ouble. The actual taxation imposed by England was in itself reasonable enough. England had expended £60,000,000 in the war against France and the Indians on the continent of America. She asked the colonies to pay no part of this, not even the interest on it. Nothing from the proposed taxes was to be taken to England, but on the contrary England proposed to pay for two-thirds of the expense of protecting the colonies, and desired to raise only the remaining one-third from the colonies themselves, to be expended wholly in America. What could be more reasonable ?

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The much-resented "stamp tax" was but to raise the modest sum of £100,000 for these colonial purposes only, a mere bagatelle in comparison with what the colonies had just spent in the English-French wars of their own free will. There was nothing especially obnoxious in a stamp act of itself. The Massachusetts colonial legislature had passed one and enforced it for a year, some time previous to the English stamp act of 1765. It was the passage of the act *without the consent* of the colonists that excited alarm and opposition. It cost the British government £12,000 to try to enforce this stamp act, and not one farthing was ever collected under it in any of the thirteen colonies. That the amount of the tax had nothing to do with the trouble England still would not see, though the colonies so stated in explicit language, and in their acts went so far as to object to the Crown's paying the salaries of the colonial judges and governors, preferring to pay them themselves. At meetings held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on October 28 and November 2, 1772, resolutions were actually passed against the payment of the judges' salaries by the Crown, and Chief-Justice Oliver was impeached for accepting his salary from the Crown instead of from the colonies, as it was said to be "in derogation of fundamental rights." In reply to appeals for home rule, England repealed all the taxes excepting a nominal one on tea, which was retained "as a matter of principle." At this time probably no country in the world was so lightly taxed as the American colonies, and never before or since have they escaped with so little taxation. What, then, was there left for the colonies to complain of? Yet the colonists were not satisfied, and England could not see why.

To-day in Ireland it is not the land question, but the denial of the right of home rule that is at the bottom of the whole agitation. The admittedly bad system of land tenure is but an illustration of English incompetency to deal with Irish affairs through an English Parliament. The recent extraordinary Irish land acts and the Irish land-purchase bill are but admissions of past delinquency. The British government, instead of giving home rule, has done and is doing more for the tenants than is probably wise economically or than is according to sound principles of self-support.

Taxation was not the only legislative act the American colonists complained of as made without their consent. The mere "declaratory act," stating the full power of the British Parliament to make laws binding on the American colonies, provoked counter-affirmations of no such authority without our consent. The "mutiny acts," quarter-

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ing troops on us; the "navigation acts," limiting our trade and the vessels in which and places to which we could carry our goods; the Townsend acts, appointing commissioners to execute trade laws and the Crown's interference with our efforts to prevent slavery—all special acts applying to the colonies only and made without their consent—were also causes of discontent. But was there any "boycott" in those days? Surely there was, under the head of "non-importation agreements," signed quite generally, agreeing to buy no goods imported from England till our "rights" were recognized. Circulars were printed and notices posted warning persons not to trade with such and such merchants who had imported goods from England. As nearly two-fifths of the people of the colonies were Tories, or at least inclined that way, more or less of threatening had to be used to carry out these non-importation agreements. Indeed, the lives of many of the Tories were rendered so intolerable that they left the colonies. There was, however, no refusal to pay rents, no "plan of campaign"! There was something very like it. American merchants owed some £4,000,000 in the way of private debts to English merchants. This was a large sum in those days. There was no claim of injustice in these debts, no doubt as to the amount due, and yet solely to force the recognition of public rights there was a general and successful agreement to withhold the payment of these debts. They were paid after the Revolutionary War was over, but during the periods of agitation prior to the war the local courts were incapable of forcing their collection.

Were there any illegal meetings in defiance of law? Yes, there were numerous such meetings, especially in Virginia and Massachusetts, protesting against acts of Parliament and orders of the Crown, and at them many revolutionary sentiments were proclaimed. Such sentiments may sound like patriotism at this distance of time after the successful issue of the war for independence, but in England at that time they appeared in precisely the same light as appear parts of the speeches of the Irish agitators to-day. Six years before war broke out, George Washington counselled the "use of arms" to resist the encroachments of our "lordly masters" on our liberties, though, he added, "arms should be the last resort," while I doubt if any sentence of any Irish leader can be found to match the famous words of Patrick Henry, uttered in May, 1765: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third [cries of "Treason"]—may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." To counteract this "boycotting," this "plan of campaign," these "il-

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legal meetings," to translate the old names into modern phrases, the government resorted to what would now be called "coercion." The attitude of the government was to abolish all the taxes except a trivial one on tea, retained as "a matter of principle," and to refuse to grant the home rule because, as Lord North said, the conduct of the Americans had been such as to prevent an entire compliance with their wishes, or, as the Earl of Hillsborough said in 1768, on the non-rescinding of the circular-letter which the colonies had addressed to the Crown, because "the Crown must be supported, or we sink into a state of anarchy."

Troops were at last sent to America to enforce the laws, aid the officers of the Crown, and protect the Tories. General Gage was sent to carry out this policy, with his troops, because, as Lord Percy said, he was "the proper man to do it." In addition to this, Boston had to be made an example of for its leadership in resistance. The Boston Port Bill of March 14, 1774, was enacted, closing the port till compensation was made for the tea destroyed in the tea riots. Another act was passed, for the appointment of the governor's councillors by the Crown, in place of election by the people; for the appointment and removal by the governor, who was an appointee of the Crown, of the judges of the Superior Courts, justices of the peace, and other minor officers, and, with the consent of the council, of the sheriffs. The governor's permission was made necessary for the holding of town meetings, except for the election of town officers. It was also provided by another act that offenders and witnesses might be transported for trial to other colonies or to England. Thus Massachusetts became a "proclaimed district." The trial by jury was greatly diminished in all the colonies by extending the jurisdiction of the royal courts of admiralty. "Writs of assistance" were authorized by acts of Parliament, under which search could be made for suspected goods without warrant. "New England restraining acts" were passed, cutting down the trade and fisheries of New England. By such measures it was intended to "bring the colonies to reason"; not because the colonies were wholly wrong in their demands, but because the statesmen of those days believed they ought first to whip the colonies into obedience and afterward listen to the justice of their complaints.

All these measures and others like them were met with further resistance, such as driving the Crown officers to the war-ships; riots; wrecking houses and destroying property; and in some cases, notably of the "regulators" of North Carolina and of the burning of the

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"Gaspee" in Rhode Island, with bloodshed. Conflicts with the troops occurred, the most noticeable being at Gray's Wharf, March 2, 1770, and the "Boston Massacre" three days later. In short, to quote from a recent American historian, the colonists did "commit disgraceful acts of violence upon property and against persons of the most estimable character." Another recent American writer says, "It is wiser to pass by such things with regret than to pause over their details," etc. The other colonies sent contributions of money to assist the Bostonians, and Boston was officially declared to be in a state of "rebellion."

But were not these acts of violence and rebellion frowned down by the leaders in the colonies? The boycotting of English goods was taken part in not only by the hot-headed, but these non-importation agreements were signed by the leading men of the day, as by Washington, Jefferson, Randolph, and Henry. Even the more riotous acts were not interfered with by the local colonial authorities, and, to quote again from a recent American historian, "men of influence were either silent or insincerely condemned" these acts, and others "did not scruple to avail themselves of popular violence." In such a state of affairs is it any wonder that the British government, which was blind to the moral issue, should think, not only that our people were rioters and law-breakers, but that they were totally unfit to govern themselves? The leaders seemed all to be agitators. The fact was that the situation made a demand for agitators. Afterward, when the needs of local self-government made a demand for statesmen, statesmen appeared, and sometimes in the very persons of the former agitators, and we have the splendid Constitution of the United States, produced by a people who shortly before seemed unfit to keep the peace.

But this splendid Constitution of the United States did not follow immediately after the Treaty of Paris, nor was it adopted without marked dissension. If the argument is used to-day that because the Irish have troublous times among themselves they are not fit for home rule, we should think of the times between the close of the Revolutionary War and the adoption of the Constitution, a period so fitly called the "critical period of American history." We then gave our English cousins a chance to say: "We told you so. You see you can't govern yourselves." In revenge for the massacres by savage Indians, instigated by English sympathizers called "Tories," we, in time of peace, robbed and insulted some and shot and hanged others. A large part of Massachusetts was for months in the hands of a mob headed by Daniel Shays. The courts were broken up and the mob burned

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barns and seized all the plunder they could lay hands on. The National Congress was driven out of Philadelphia by a mob largely made up of soldiers claiming their pay. A general rebellion of the disbanded army was stopped only by Washington's consummate tact and great influence. Repudiation of State debts and paper-money schemes were rife, and meanwhile the country seemed to be "drifting toward anarchy." Soon, however, the good sense of the people prevailed; and upon the adoption of the Constitution, with its strong central government and well-defined local powers for the States, peace and good order prevailed. Thus our own history has given us grounds for a peculiar sympathy with any cause of home rule, and a reason for not indicting the whole Emerald Isle for the excesses of the Irish agitators.

It is frequently remarked that if home rule with union is established, it will be but the entering wedge for complete separation. Let me recall two of our experiences. Home rule with union having been *refused* the American colonists, war ensued; and the *refusal continuing*, the Declaration of Independence followed, but only after the war had lasted a year and a quarter. After our successful rebellion, home rule was granted the other British colonies, and they have remained loyal. In the recent reconstruction after the Civil War, the Southern States were in the end given home rule, and all has gone on harmoniously since; but for twelve years United States troops were kept in the South to maintain order. The presence of these troops as government police caused trouble. A pretty severe hit on the head made by a home policeman to enforce a home-made law is a small matter, bringing but contempt on the wounded; but a hit so slight as to be healed by a bit of sticking-plaster, if given by a policeman or soldier sent by a distant government to enforce special laws not consented to, leaves a stinging sense of indignation behind and makes the sufferer a hero and a martyr in the eyes of his neighbors. As long as the United States troops were in the South, we had the frightful barbarities, bloodshed, and horrors of the Ku-Klux. The troops were withdrawn under President Hayes in 1877, the Ku-Klux melted away, and the horrors have ceased. Taking, then, our own history and the continuing evidence before our eyes of the force for union there is in local self-government on local affairs in all our States, it cannot but seem to us that some sort of effectual home rule for Ireland is what will alone unite Ireland in heart, as well as in name, with the British Empire, to the mutual advantage of both parts of the union.

RICHARD H. DANA.

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THE FOLLY OF THE SILVER AGITATION.

THE so-called Sherman Act of 1890 was a compromise between the bimetallists and the free-silver men. It requires the executive officers of the Government to buy four and one-half million ounces of silver at market price each month and to issue Treasury notes in payment. These at present are redeemable at the will of the holder in gold dollars, which have a uniform value the world over. How long we may be able to continue this liberal exchange of hard cash for a fluctuating commodity without peril to the credit of our nation is a question of serious importance.

Silver ceased to be a measure of value and virtually became merchandise after the Franco-Prussian war, when Germany followed the example set by England and demonetized it. The tables of the world's production which Mr. Edward O. Leech, director of the mint, furnished in his official report, show how abundant silver has become:

During—	Troy Ounces of 480 Grains, Fine Silver.	Commercial Value.	Value of the World's Gold Product.
1873	63,267,000	$82,120,000	$96,200,000
1874	55,300,000	70,673,000	90,750,000
1875	62,262,000	77,578,000	97,500,000
1876	67,753,000	78,322,000	103,700,000
1877	62,648,000	75,240,000	114,000,000
1878	73,476,000	84,644,000	119,000,000
1879	74,250,000	83,383,000	109,000,000
1880	74,791,000	85,636,000	106,500,000
1881	78,890,000	89,777,000	103,000,000
1882	86,470,000	98,230,000	102,000,000
1883	89,177,000	98,986,000	95,400,000
1884	81,597,000	90,817,000	101,700,000
1885	91,652,000	97,564,000	108,400,000
1886	93,276,000	92,772,000	106,000,000
1887	96,124,000	94,031,000	105,775,000
1888	108,827,000	102,283,000	110,197,000
1889	125,420,000	117,268,000	123,489,000
1890	134,380,000	141,100,000	120,475,000
1891	143,550,000	141,827,000	125,300,000

Last year the production of silver was more than twice as large as in 1876, when the Germans exchanged a great portion of their stock for gold, and it was more than four and a half times the thirty-one

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million ounces that were annually produced from 1851 to 1860. The relative production of silver to gold was:

1860.....	5.46	ounces silver	against	1	ounce of	gold
1865.....	6.85	"	"	1	"	"
1876.....	13.51	"	"	1	"	"
1891.....	23.44	"	"	1	"	"

The value of every article of merchandise falls generally in proportion to the increased supply, unless the demand increases in the same ratio. The commercial value of our dollar of 412½ grains of standard silver (371¼ grains of fine metal) when measured by gold was:

1860 to 1865..	101.72,	when the troy ounce of silver was worth 131.52
1876.....	88.16,	when the troy ounce of silver was worth 113.99
1891.....	71.21,	when the troy ounce of silver was worth 92.07

The decline would have been greater and more rapid if we had not interfered by our legislation. Other civilized nations, one after another, are discarding the use of silver for measuring their values and adopting gold as fast as their circumstances permit. Should we stop purchases, no customer would be left to buy the white metal on a scale large enough to sustain the present value. The amounts needed for subsidiary coins will be comparatively of small importance. At a lower price more could be used to alloy aluminium, perchance also other base metals. For the arts alone the supply is immense when compared with actual consumption. Relatively it is larger here than anywhere else. Still, we did not consume last year for this purpose more than nine millions, against a production of fifty-six millions of dollars and a stock at least ten times greater. It is impossible to judge how low the price must be before a liberal use of silver for household utensils by the middle classes would be encouraged. When nickel declined to nearly forty and copper to ten cents a pound, less than half of former values, the consumption of these metals was not increased in the same proportion.

When we simply take the increased supply into consideration, silver ought now to be worth about twenty-nine cents an ounce. It may fall even lower for a while when we stop employing it for coinage or banking, because the principal demand would then cease. In the face of the immense supply, it would be useless to argue that twenty-nine cents would not cover cost of production. Buyers are not moved by such considerations. What the actual cost may be, it is difficult to ascertain with any degree of accuracy. For the "Mollie

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Gibson" mine, in Colorado, it is claimed that their silver does not cost over five cents an ounce. On the other hand, many low grades of ore are used in which the white metal costs more than fifty cents. The demand which our foolish policy has created has been the cause of working many claims which otherwise would have been abandoned. We have largely increased the profit of miners for the time being, but when their day of final reckoning comes they will probably find that they would have fared better without the aid of our Government. The price of their product must fall ultimately so low that many of them will have to close their works, because they will not pay. No laws can be made which will interfere with the laws of nature for any considerable length of time.

The average reserve of the Bank of England has lately been about 45 per cent of its liabilities. The gold coin and bullion held in the Bank of France was $315,465,000, about 51 per cent of circulating notes for $620,815,000 on June 16; in the Bank of Germany $248,915,000, about 109 per cent of circulating notes for $228,345,000 on June 7. The Bank of France owns, aside from the above, two hundred and fifty millions in silver coin and bullion. While this is a legal tender and has been so used in cases of emergency, the constantly increasing accumulation of gold by this conservative institution, the only bank of issue in France, gives the assurance that it will use it as such no more. The Treasury of the United States held on June 22 $115,120,600 net in gold coin and bullion against liabilities on April 1 of:

Legal-tender notes of old issue	$323,904,962
Legal-tender notes of act July 14, 1890	77,605,410
Silver certificates	325,683,149[1]
Currency certificates	29,840,000
Total	$757,033,521

Taking for granted that they have not increased, the reserve is 15½ per cent. We must not count some four hundred and fifty millions of silver, which we cannot ask anybody to take and which nobody wants. Fifteen per cent may be sufficient while confidence in our resources

[1] Silver certificates are not redeemed by the Treasury direct; they can be exchanged for gold, however, through the banks. As they would decline to the value of the silver which they represent if they were not so exchangeable, they are usually included in the liabilities. Without them these would amount only to four hundred and thirty-two million dollars, making the reserve about 27 per cent.

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remains undisturbed and nobody questions our fixed purpose to pay our debts with honest money; but it would be inadequate if our willingness or ability should become doubtful. Since the United States Treasury has virtually assumed the functions of a bank of issue, it cannot without danger violate the sound principles by which such institutions are governed.

Abundant crops are promised us again. We shall probably have to supply another deficiency abroad. Even if our imports increase, which may be expected with a revival of business following another good harvest, we shall continue to export on a scale so large that the balance of trade for merchandise may remain in our favor for some time to come. It is more difficult to reckon what indebtedness may be created when we are called upon at any time to pay for the redemption of our securities or credits. Of these movements no records are kept. A portion of speculative securities were returned when the panic occurred in the Argentine Republic. But of the dividend-paying shares of the Vanderbilt roads, Illinois Central, and the like, considerable amounts are held in Europe, as well as many issues of railroad bonds; entire mortgages payable in sterling have been placed and continue to be held there. When we add the foreign capital invested in industrial enterprises, breweries, and mines, the aggregate amount placed here will not fall short of one thousand million dollars. Aside from this, European credits are freely used here to facilitate the business of exporting and importing merchants, also of bankers, amounting to many millions more.

These investments will not be disturbed nor credits curtailed while our legal tenders and certificates are interchangeable at par with gold coin of inflexible value. But the holders of our securities will begin to part with them the moment they fear that their income will be diminished because it may be paid in a depreciated currency of uncertain and fluctuating value. They will prefer to invest where they are sure of the value of their interest, even at a lower rate. Whenever this may happen, gold will be drawn from the country in large amounts and the reserve in the Treasury may then diminish with alarming rapidity,

The Secretary of the Treasury assumes that he has the power to obtain gold by a sale of United States bonds under the redemption act. He will no doubt avail himself of it to the necessary extent when he may consider the danger near. But a wise man locks his stable door before the horse is stolen. This year so far some fifty millions of gold were shipped to Europe. As the merchandise balance is in our

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favor the shipments have created uneasiness, though they may partly be accounted for by the payments for interest and the expenses of tourists. As money remains abundant and a good demand prevails for our bonds, the Secretary could easily sell bonds enough now to strengthen his reserves. A considerable portion, if not all, of the gold shipped recently could thus be drawn back again. It may be that foreign capitalists will criticise our action, when we make such a sacrifice, to continue purchases of silver, while Austria strains her resources to enable her to adopt the gold standard. But they will let us have the money on reasonable terms while we enjoy their confidence. It may not be considered with the same complacency in this country when we have to increase our national debt and the burdens of taxation so that we can further stimulate an industry which is neither one of the most important nor the most useful.

Bimetallists claim that we will not have money enough without silver for the increasing business of this country. Did not Germany thrive after it abolished its use? Has Holland or Sweden complained of scarcity of the circulating medium? Can anybody gainsay that the commerce of Great Britain has not increased in a greater ratio than the supply of gold since this metal was adopted as the standard, in 1816? While France still keeps a supply of silver, it does not use it. None of these nations will return to it. They are fully satisfied with gold as the sole measure of their values. An attempt to make any given quantity of this white metal the supply of which seems inexhaustible and the value unfathomable equal to it would clearly jeopardize their best interests. Since the Latin Union agreed to the proportion of 15½ parts of silver to 1 part of gold in 1865, circumstances have entirely changed.

"Silverites" flatter themselves that free coinage would give a stable value to their favorite metal, even if we adopt it alone as our measure of values. If they study the reports which reach us from India, South America, and Mexico, they will find that European capital has ceased to flow there, and that producers, merchants, and bankers alike in those countries are in a constant state of excitement and worry because they do not know from day to day how much their silver dollars are worth. We are no more independent of the rest of mankind than they are. While we have larger resources, our needs are greater for their development.

After the Secretary has obtained the gold which he may need, the question remains how long he will have to continue sales of bonds for

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the same purpose. Since our surplus has disappeared, we shall need fifty-six millions a year until the Sherman act is repealed. Its repeal is the only safe course to pursue to rid ourselves of the danger. When we thus cut loose from silver it will no doubt decline at first, and our accumulation will proportionately diminish in value. But it would be better to sacrifice even the whole of it than to let the threat of a vitiated currency hang over our heads any longer. Foreigners would have no inducement then to part with our sound securities. The interest on them would be reinvested here, and we could draw from England what gold would be due us for merchandise balances. Confidence in our credit would be strengthened so that railroad and other corporations would not find the difficulty they have recently encountered in placing new issues of their bonds.

I was about to close this paper when news came that the Senate had passed a free-coinage act, and simultaneously the report that silver had declined to 87½ cents an ounce, which reduces the value of the standard dollar to 67½ cents. This decline seems to indicate that our legislation is losing influence, so that we may not be able to bolster up the value of silver much longer. In passing now so radical a measure, the Senate has insulted the President of the United States and the nations whom he recently invited to confer with us about the possibilities of bimetallism. It shows a reckless indifference to our interests and the well-known opinions, held by a majority of the people we trade with, to declare what shall be the measure of our values. If we were isolated and transacted business among ourselves only, we could adopt wampum for our currency, and it would concern us alone. But our intercourse with others is considerable. During the eleven months which ended May 31 we exported merchandise to the value of $965,366,794, while our imports amounted in the same period to $755,305,633. The aggregate of our transactions in securities, specie, and redemption of credits must swell the total amount of our annual business with the outside world to nearly four thousand million dollars. As long as we borrow more money than we lend and sell more merchandise than we buy, our interests demand that the measure of our values shall be identical with the one which is used by the people with whom we have dealings. If we had a different measure, of a fluctuating value, our creditors would want to be paid for the risk of taking it, and our customers would find it to their advantage to depreciate it in order to buy our commodities as cheaply as possible.

It is not predictable how low a valuation silver can reach if the

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production continues to increase in the same ratio. Our silver dollars would have already a lower value than our legal tenders reached during the darkest hour of the Rebellion if we had not upheld silver by purchases, and by the liberality with which we now furnish a gold dollar in exchange for one of paper which represents sixty-eight cents' worth of silver. That we coin and stamp them legal tenders makes the white tokens of no greater value than our *fiat* could make irredeemable paper. The financial distress and mad speculation which occurred when our legal-tender dollar declined in value to thirty-four cents remain fresh in our memories. The credit of the nation was pledged for their ultimate redemption. The free-coinage act does not provide for the redemption of silver by gold, the only metal which has a fixed value now. Consequently our credit would sink with the value of the white metal, to which our fortunes would be linked.

To repeal the Sherman act would leave us with an unsalable stock of silver larger than that held by any other nation, which would remain, a monument to our folly, for many years. To continue it must lead eventually to national bankruptcy, an end to which free coinage can bring us more speedily.

LOUIS WINDMÜLLER.

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REPEAL OF THE STATE BANK TAX.

If the United States Government could go into the banking business, the whole question concerning the supply of a flexible currency would be easily settled. Whenever a larger volume was needed to move the crops or to meet any legitimate demand for increased circulation, the Treasurer could issue the government notes at a fair rate of interest, upon good security, to any amount that should be required. As soon as these had served their calling, they would be returned in payment of the obligations of the borrowers, and thus all unnecessary inflation would be avoided. There are many who insist that this is one of the proper functions of a government by the people and for the people, and that our Federal authorities ought to be empowered by a change in the Constitution to exercise this prerogative, and to lend the Treasury notes or certificates to be used as currency whenever these can serve any useful purpose.

There are some plausible arguments in support of this theory, but the valid objections far outweigh all that can be said in its favor. It would soon become a vast engine for political corruption. Not the best security, but the partisan purpose to be accomplished would direct the distribution of the loans; and schemes of political aggrandizement with plans for pecuniary profit, by the control of the issues for speculative ventures, would bring the whole system into disrepute and lead to its suppression. No other form of issue from the hands of the Government will meet the requirement. What is wanted is a volume of circulation that fairly represents the movement of produce and merchandise, coming out when the movement begins and retiring when the market is reached and the property passes into the channels of consumption. No issue of a government currency can meet this want and be regulated by it unless the authorities will discount the business paper that represents the property, and receive back the issues when the need has ceased and the notes and drafts have matured.

The national banks under the present system can furnish some aid by inscribed credits and the use of checks, but this will not do for the interior, where the crops are to be paid for and some form of cur-

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rency used as money is actually required. The bank-notes secured by bonds at Washington must be kept in perpetual use to pay the cost of the issue, and the volume cannot be enlarged and contracted to adjust itself to the demands of trade. Nothing ever served the purpose so well as a bank-note put out on the credit of a well-established institution in exchange for business paper which represented some actual value of produce or merchandise for the movement of which the currency was used. The sound banker whose promises to pay were as good as gold had all sorts of imitators, and for this reason many restrictions were placed upon bank issues which greatly lessened their usefulness. To keep irredeemable paper out of the market—the promises of institutions without means or character—a great variety of safeguards were adopted, which would be wholly unnecessary at the present day. It was the want of suitable means of communicating with every part of the country, with the object of demanding immediate redemption of the unworthy notes, which gave any facilities for what was known as "wild-cat" banking.

The project of repealing the present prohibitory tax of 10 per cent on the issue of State banks is a very hopeful movement in favor of a most welcome change in the financial condition of the country. There need be no fear of any toleration of a depreciated bank-note circulation should this restriction be removed. There is not a State in the Union which would authorize or allow it; and if it were attempted anywhere, the facilities for collection are now so great that it would be crushed out at once. The best features of the former statutes would be preserved in new State legislation, and the natural law of supply and demand would govern all the rest of the needed restrictions. The tax which it is proposed to repeal is in itself unconstitutional. It is not levied for revenue, but for prohibition; and the fundamental law nowhere gives to the Federal Congress the right to suppress by its action the issues of the State banks. There would follow from its repeal the most perfect currency for business purposes the world has ever known. Flexible in its character, redeemable at all central points, and thus always at par throughout every portion of the country, and meeting the needs of the hour in its answer to every legitimate demand, it would prevent pressures and stringency in the money market, and injure no one but the greedy speculator who makes his cent per cent in a financial crisis.

DAVID M. STONE.

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WHAT PSYCHICAL RESEARCH HAS ACCOMPLISHED.

If to have one's name knocked about in conversation and in newspapers be fame, the "Society for Psychical Research" is famous. Yet it is probable that any real acquaintance with its history, its aims, and its work hardly exists outside the narrow circle of its membership. Believing, as I do, that the Society fulfils a function which, though limited, is decidedly important in the organization of science, I am glad to give a brief account of it to the uninstructed reader.

According to the newspaper and drawing-room myth, soft-headedness and idiotic credulity are the bond of sympathy in the Society, and general wonder-sickness is its dynamic principle. A glance at the membership fails, however, to corroborate this view. The president is Prof. Henry Sidgwick, known by his other deeds as the most incorrigibly and exasperatingly critical and sceptical mind in England. The hard-headed Arthur Balfour is one vice-president, and the hard-headed Prof. J. P. Langley, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, is another. Such men as Professor Lodge, the eminent English physicist, and Professor Richet, the eminent French physiologist, are amongst the most active contributors to the Society's "Proceedings"; and through the catalogue of membership are sprinkled names honored throughout the world for their scientific capacity. In fact, were I asked to point to a scientific journal where hard-headedness and never-sleeping suspicion of sources of error might be seen in their full bloom, I think I should have to fall back on the "Proceedings" of the "Society for Psychical Research." The common run of papers, say on physiological subjects, which one finds in other professional organs, are apt to show a far lower level of critical consciousness. Indeed, the rigorous canons of evidence applied a few years ago to testimony in the case of certain "mediums" led to the secession from the Society of a number of spiritualists. Messrs. Stanton-Moses and Alfred Russel Wallace, amongst others, thought that no experiences based on mere eyesight could ever have a chance to be admitted as true, if such an impossibly exacting standard of proof were insisted on in every case.

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The "Society for Psychical Research" was founded in February, 1882, by a number of gentlemen, foremost amongst whom seem to have been Professors Henry Sidgwick, W. F. Barrett, and Balfour Stewart, and Messrs. R. H. Hutton, Hensleigh Wedgwood, Edmund Gurney, and F. W. H. Myers. Their purpose was twofold: first, to carry on systematic experimentation with hypnotic subjects, mediums, clairvoyants, and others; and, secondly, to collect evidence concerning apparitions, haunted houses, and similar phenomena which are incidentally reported, but which, from their fugitive character, admit of no deliberate control. Professor Sidgwick, in his introductory address, insisted that the divided state of public opinion on all these matters was a scandal to science, absolute disdain on *à priori* grounds characterizing what may be called professional opinion, whilst completely uncritical and indiscriminate credulity was too often found amongst those who pretended to have a first-hand acquaintance with the facts.

As a sort of weather bureau for accumulating reports of such meteoric phenomena as apparitions, the "S. P. R." (as I shall continue briefly to call it) has done an immense amount of work. As an experimenting body, it cannot be said to have completely fulfilled the hopes of its founders. The reasons for this lie in two circumstances: first, the clairvoyant and other subjects who will allow themselves to be experimented upon are few and far between; and, secondly, work with them takes an immense amount of time, and in the case of the Society has had to be carried on at odd intervals by members engaged in other pursuits. The Society has not yet been rich enough to control the undivided services of skilled experimenters in this difficult field. The loss of the lamented Edmund Gurney, who more than any one else had leisure to devote, has been so far irreparable. But were there no experimental work at all, and were the Society nothing but a weather bureau for catching sporadic apparitions, etc., in their freshness, I am disposed to think its function indispensable in the scientific organism. If any one of my readers, spurred by the thought that so much smoke must needs betoken fire, has ever looked into the existing literature of the supernatural for proof, he will know what I mean. This literature is enormous, but it is practically quite worthless for evidential purposes. Facts enough are there, indeed; but the records of them are so fallible and uncritical that the most they do is to confirm the presumption that it may be well to keep a window open in one's mind upon that quarter.

In the Society's "Proceedings," on the contrary, a different law

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prevails. Quality, and not mere quantity, is what has been mainly kept in mind. The most that could be done with every reported case has been done. The witnesses, where possible, have been cross-examined personally, the collateral facts have been looked up, and the narrative appears with its precise coefficient of evidential worth stamped on it, so that all may know just what its weight as proof may be. Outside of these "Proceedings," I know of no systematic attempt to *weigh* the evidence for the supernatural. This makes the value of the seven volumes already published unique, and I firmly believe that as the years go on and the ground covered grows still wider, the Society's "Proceedings" will more and more tend to supersede all other sources of empirical information concerning phenomena traditionally deemed occult. If the Society could continue to exist long enough for the public to become familiar with its presence, so that any case of apparition or of a house or person infested with unaccountable noises or disturbances of material objects would, as a matter of course, be reported to its officers, who thereupon would take down the evidence in as thorough a way as possible, we should end ere long by having a mass of facts concrete enough to found a decent theory upon.

Those who are now sustaining the Society should accustom themselves to the idea that its first duty is simply to exist from year to year and perform this recording function well, though no conclusive results of any sort emerge in the first generation. All our learned societies have begun in some such modest way. Three years after the English Society was founded, Professor Barrett came to this country and stirred up some scientific men in Boston, so that the "American Society for Psychical Research" was founded as a separate organization. After five years this Society perished. Providence had raised up no one in its midst who had both leisure and aptitude for doing work of the sort required. But though the organization was abandoned, its associates for the most part joined the English Society, which thereupon constituted an "American Branch," with Professor Langley and the present writer as its "honorary vice-presidents" and Mr. Richard Hodgson as its salaried secretary and executive agent. The "American Branch" has suffered from the same defect as the American Society. The secretary is the only individual connected with it who is able to make any solid contribution to its work. It requires, moreover, a large increase of membership to become self-supporting.

One cannot by mere outward organization make much progress in matters scientific. Societies can back men of genius, but can never

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take their place. The contrast between the parent Society and the "American Branch" illustrates this. In England, a little group of men with enthusiasm and genius for the work supplied the nucleus; in this country, Mr. Hodgson had to be imported from Europe before any tangible progress was made. What perhaps more than anything else has held the Society together in England is Professor Sidgwick's extraordinary gift of inspiring confidence in diverse sorts of people. Such tenacity of interest in the result and such absolute impartiality in discussing the evidence are not once in a century found in an individual. His obstinate belief that there is something yet to be brought to light communicates patience to the discouraged; his constitutional inability to draw any precipitate conclusion reassures those who are afraid of being dupes. Mrs. Sidgwick—a sister, by the way, of the great Arthur Balfour—is a worthy ally of her husband in this matter, showing a similarly extraordinary power of holding her judgment in suspense, and a keenness of observation and capacity for experimenting with human subjects which are rare in either sex.

The *worker* of the Society, as originally constituted, was Edmund Gurney. Gurney was a man of the rarest sympathies and gifts. Although, like Carlyle, he used to groan under the burden of his labors, he yet exhibited a colossal power of dispatching business and getting through drudgery of the most repulsive kind. His two thick volumes on the "Phantasms of the Living," collected and published in three years, are a proof of this. Besides this, he had exquisite artistic instincts, and his massive volume on "The Power of Sound" is certainly the most important work on æsthetics in the English language. He had also the tenderest heart and a mind of rare metaphysical power, as his volume of essays, "Tertium Quid," will prove to any reader. Mr. F. W. H. Myers, already well known as one of the most brilliant of English essayists, is the *ingenium præfervidum* of the "S. P. R." Of the value of Mr. Myers' theoretic writings I will say a word later. Mr. Hodgson, the American secretary, is distinguished by a balance of mind almost as rare in its way as Sidgwick's. He is persuaded of the reality of many of the phenomena called spiritualistic, but he also has uncommon keenness in detecting error; and it is impossible to say in advance whether it will give him more satisfaction to confirm or to smash a given "case" offered to his examination. Other names in the "Proceedings" are those of Mr. Malcolm Guthrie, Mr. Frank Podmore, Prof. Oliver Lodge, Prof. Ch. Richet, and M. Léon Marillier.

It is now time to cast a brief look upon the actual contents of

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these "Proceedings."[1] The first two years were largely taken up with experiments in thought-transference. The earliest lot of these were made with the daughters of a clergyman named Creery, and convinced Messrs. Balfour Stewart, Barrett, Myers, and Gurney that the girls had an inexplicable power of guessing names and objects thought of by other persons. Two years later, Mrs. Sidgwick and Mr. Gurney, recommencing experiments with the same girls, detected them signalling to each other. This makes it impossible to accept the record of their previous performances. It is true that for the most part the conditions had then excluded signalling, and it is also possible that the cheating may have grafted itself on what was originally a genuine phenomenon. Yet Gurney was wise in abandoning the entire series to the scepticism of the reader. Three other thought-transference subjects were experimented upon at great length during the first two years: one was Mr. G. A. Smith; the other two were young ladies in Liverpool in the employment of Mr. Malcolm Guthrie.

It is the opinion of all who took part in these experiments that sources of conscious and unconscious deception were sufficiently excluded, and that the large percentage of correct reproductions by the subjects of words, diagrams, and sensations occupying other people's consciousness were entirely inexplicable as results of chance. The present writer confesses that the reading of the records leaves on him a similar impression. But the odd thing about this sort of "thought-transference" is that since the first three years of the Society's existence no new subjects have turned up with whom extensive and systematic experiments could be carried on. All the later reports are of brief series and semi-sporadic results, leaving no ground for certainty. Meanwhile the witnesses of Mr. Smith's, Miss Ralph's, and Miss Edwards' performances were all so satisfied of the genuineness of the phenomenon that "telepathy" has figured freely in the papers of the "Proceedings" and in Gurney's book on "Phantasms" as a *vera causa* on which additional hypotheses might be built. No

[1] The Society, in addition to the "Proceedings," prints privately a monthly journal, which is issued to members only. This contains what may be called raw materials, imperfectly corroborated interviews and provisional discussions only; whereas the "Proceedings," which appear thrice a year in parts numbering from 150 to 300 pages, contain worked-up reports of facts and such theoretical contributions as may receive the *imprimatur* of a special committee. The best way in this country to get the "Proceedings" regularly is to join the Branch. They may also be bought singly from the secretary, R. Hodgson, 5 Boylston Place, Boston, Mass., and from Damrell & Upham, booksellers, Washington and School streets, Boston.

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mere reader can be blamed, however, if he refuse to espouse so revolutionary a belief until a larger bulk of testimony be supplied.

Volume I. contains another experimental paper, that on the divining-rod, by Mr. Edward R. Pease, with inconclusive results. The divining-rod has never again shown its face in the "Proceedings." Gurney's papers on hypnotism must be mentioned next. Some of them are less concerned with establishing new facts than with analyzing old ones, the papers on memory during hypnotism, for example. Omitting these, we find that in the line of pure observation Gurney claims to have ascertained in more than one subject the following phenomenon, of which the theoretic explanation is doubtful: The subject's hands are thrust through a blanket, which screens the operator from his eyes, and his mind is absorbed in conversation with a third person. The operator meanwhile points with his finger to one of the fingers of the subject, which finger alone responds to this silent selection by becoming stiff or anæsthetic, as the case may be. The interpretation is difficult, but the phenomenon, which I have myself witnessed, seems authentic.

Another observation made by Gurney seems to prove the possibility of the subject's mind being directly influenced by the operator's. The hypnotized subject responds or fails to respond to questions asked by a third party according to the operator's silent permission or refusal. Of course, in these experiments all obvious sources of deception were considered. But Gurney's most important contribution by far to our knowledge of hypnotism was his series of experiments on the automatic writing of subjects who had received post-hypnotic suggestions. For example, a subject during trance is told that he will poke the fire in six minutes after waking. On being waked he has no memory of the order, but while he is engaged in conversation his hand is placed on a *planchette*, which immediately writes the sentence, "P., you will poke the fire in six minutes." Experiments like this, which were repeated in great variety, prove that below the upper consciousness the hypnotic consciousness persists, engrossed with the suggestion and able to express itself through the involuntarily moving hand.

Gurney shares, therefore, with Janet and Binet, whose observations were made with widely differing subjects and methods, the credit of demonstrating the simultaneous existence of two different strata of consciousness, ignorant of each other, in the same person. The "extra-consciousness," as one may call it, can be kept on tap, as it were, by the method of automatic writing. This discovery marks a new era

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in experimental psychology; it is impossible to overrate its importance. But Gurney's greatest piece of work is his laborious "Phantasms of the Living." As an example of the drudgery stowed away in the volumes, it may suffice to say that in looking up the proofs for the alleged *physical* phenomena of witchcraft, Gurney reports a careful search through two hundred and sixty books on the subject, with the result of finding no first-hand evidence recorded in the trials except the confessions of the victims themselves, and these, of course, are presumptively based on hallucinations. This statement, made in an unobtrusive note, is only one instance of the care displayed throughout the volumes. In the course of these, Gurney discusses about seven hundred cases of apparitions which he collected. A large number of these were "veridical," in the sense of coinciding with some calamity happening to the person who appeared. Gurney's explanation is that the mind of the person undergoing the calamity was at that moment able to impress the mind of the percipient with an hallucination.

Apparitions, on this "telepathic" theory, may be called "objective" facts, although they are not "material" facts. In order to test the likelihood of such veridical hallucinations being due to mere chance, Gurney instituted the "census of hallucinations," which has been continued with the result of obtaining answers from some twenty-five thousand people, asked at random in different countries whether, when in good health and awake, they had ever heard a voice, seen a form, or felt a touch which no material presence could account for. The result seems to be, roughly speaking, that about one adult in ten has had such an experience at least once in his life, and of the experiences themselves 14 per cent coincide with some real distant event. In other words, one person out of every one hundred and forty in the community has had a veridical hallucination of some sort or other, vague or precise. The question is, Is this degree of frequency too great to be deemed fortuitous, and must we suppose an occult connection between the two events? My own position is still one of doubt, although I tend to accept the occult connection. In but few cases is the evidence as complete as one could wish, and the data themselves are all too crude for a mathematical computation of probability. The great use of the census is to have been the means of collecting an enormous amount of material for study. The admirable report upon it which Mrs. Sidgwick will make to the "International Congress of Experimental Psychology" next August will continue Gurney's labors, and put the entire subject of hallucinations on a new empirical basis.

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The next experimental topic worth mentioning in the "Proceedings" is the discussion of the physical phenomenon of mediumship (slate-writing, furniture-moving, and so forth) by Mrs. Sidgwick, Mr. Hodgson, and "Mr. Davey." This, so far as it goes, is destructive of the claims of all the mediums examined. In the way of "control," "Mr. Davey" himself produced fraudulent slate-writing of the highest order, while Mr. Hodgson, a "sitter" in his confidence, reviewed the written reports of the series of his other sitters—all intelligent persons—and shows that in every case they failed to see the essential features of what was done before their eyes. This Davey-Hodgson contribution is probably the most damaging document concerning eye-witnesses' evidence which has ever been produced. Another substantial bit of work based on personal observation is Mr. Hodgson's report of Madame Blavatsky's claims to physical mediumship. This is adverse to the lady's pretensions; and although some of Madame Blavatsky's friends make light of it, it is a stroke from which her reputation will hardly recover. Although the "S. P. R." has thus found that the evidence for matter moving without contact is as yet insufficient, its observations on an American medium, Mrs. Piper, tend to substantiate the claim that hyper-normal intelligence may be displayed in the trance state. A tediously long report of sittings with Mrs. Piper in England, followed by a still longer ditto in America, gives proof (entirely conclusive to the present writer's mind) that this lady has shown in her trances a knowledge of the personal affairs of living and dead people which it is impossible to suppose that she can have gained in any "natural" way. A satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon is yet to seek. It offers itself as spirit-control; but it is as hard to accept this theory without protest as it is to be satisfied with such explanations as clairvoyance or reading the sitter's mind.

One of the most important experimental contributions to the "Proceedings" is the article of Miss X— on "Crystal-Vision." Many persons who look fixedly into a crystal or other vaguely luminous surface fall into a kind of daze and see visions. Miss X— has this susceptibility in a remarkable degree, and is, moreover, an unusually intelligent critic. She reports many visions which can only be described as apparently clairvoyant, and others which beautifully fill a vacant niche in our knowledge of sub-conscious mental operations. For example, looking into the crystal before breakfast one morning she reads in printed characters of the death of a lady of her acquaintance, the date and other circumstances all duly appearing in type. Startled

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by this, she looks at "The Times" of the previous day for verification, and there amongst the deaths are the identical words which she has seen. On the same page of "The Times" are other items which she remembers reading the day before; and the only explanation seems to be that her eyes then inattentively observed, so to speak, the death-item, which forthwith fell into a special corner of her memory and came out as a visual hallucination when the peculiar modification of consciousness induced by the crystal-gazing set in.

Passing from papers based on observation to papers based on narrative, we have a number of ghost stories, etc., sifted by Mrs. Sidgwick and discussed by Messrs. Myers and Podmore. They form the best ghost literature I know of from the point of view of emotional interest. As to the conclusions drawn, Mrs. Sidgwick is rigorously non-committal, while Mr. Myers and Mr. Podmore show themselves respectively hospitable and inhospitable to the notion that such stories have a basis of objectivity dependent on the continued existence of the dead.

I must close my gossip about the "Proceedings" by naming what, after all, seems to me the most important part of its contents. This is the long series of articles by Mr. Myers on what he now calls the "subliminal self," or what I have designated above as the "extra-consciousness." The result of Myers' learned and ingenious studies in hypnotism, hallucinations, automatic writing, mediumship, and the whole series of allied phenomena is a conviction which he expresses in the following terms:

> "Each of us is in reality an abiding psychical entity far more extensive than he knows—an individuality which can never express itself completely through any corporeal manifestation. The self manifests itself through the organism, but there is always some part of the self unmanifested, and always, as it seems, some power of organic expression in abeyance or reserve."

The ordinary consciousness Mr. Myers likens to the visible part of the solar spectrum; the total consciousness is like that spectrum prolonged by the inclusion of the ultra-red and ultra-violet rays. In the psychic spectrum the "ultra" parts may embrace a far wider range, both of physiological and of psychical activity, than is open to our ordinary consciousness and memory. At the lower end, beyond the red, as it were, we have the *physiological* extension, mind-cures, "stigmatization" of ecstatics, etc.; in the upper or ultra-violet region, we have the hyper-normal cognitions of the medium-trance. Whatever the judgment of the future may be on Mr. Myers' speculations, the credit will always remain to them of being the first attempt in

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our language, and the first thoroughly *inductive* attempt in any language, to consider the phenomena of hallucination, hypnotism, automatism, double personality, and mediumship as connected parts of one whole subject. No one seems to me to have grasped the problem in a way both so broad and so sober as he has done.

One's reaction on hearsay testimony is always determined by one's own experience. Most men who have once convinced themselves, by what seems to them a careful examination, that any one species of the supernatural exists, begin to relax their vigilance as to evidence, and throw the doors of their minds more or less wide open to the supernatural[1] along its whole extent. To a mind that has thus made its *salto mortale*, the minute work over insignificant cases and quiddling discussion of "evidential values," of which the Society's reports are full, seems insufferably tedious. And it is so; few species of literature are more truly dull than reports of phantasms. Cases which one collects one's self from the witnesses may acquire a personal interest; but cases merely found printed as having occurred to strangers are hard to read or to remember without some definite purpose in one's mind, such as trying to classify them, or seeing how they may affect a theory or fill gaps in a growing series. Taken simply by themselves, as separate facts to stare at, they appear so devoid of meaning and sweep that even were they certainly true, one would be tempted to leave them out of one's universe for being so idiotic. Every other sort of fact has some context and continuity with the rest of nature. These alone are contextless and discontinuous.

Hence I think that the sort of loathing—no milder word will do—which the very words "psychical research" and "psychical researcher" awaken in so many honest scientific breasts is not only natural, but in a sense praiseworthy. A man who is unable himself to conceive of any *orbit* for these mental meteors can only suppose that Messrs. Gurney, Myers & Co.'s mood in dealing with them must be that of silly marvelling at so many detached prodigies. And *such* prodigies! Whereas the only thing that really interests these "researchers" is the glimpse that they gain of the orbit itself. Thus between the spiritualists and theosophists, who have so much orbit that they are sickened by the methods, and the scientists, who have so little that they are sickened by the facts, of the "S. P. R.," the latter stands

[1] By "the supernatural" I mean, of course, anything that appears to transcend the "scientifically" recognized "laws of nature," from faith-cures up to theosophic Mahatmas.

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in a rather forsaken position. And yet it is a position of peculiar merit, as I think that a little reflection will show.

Orthodoxy is almost as much a matter of authority in science as it is in the Church. We believe in all sorts of laws of nature which we cannot ourselves understand, merely because men whom we admire and trust vouch for them. If Messrs. Helmholtz, Huxley, Pasteur, and Edison were simultaneously to announce themselves as converts to clairvoyance, thought-transference, and ghosts, who can doubt that there would be a prompt popular stampede in that direction? We should have as great a slush of "telepathy" in the scientific press as we now have of "suggestion" in the medical press. We should hasten to invoke mystical explanations without winking, and fear to be identified with a by-gone *régime* if we held back. In society we should eagerly let it be known that we had always thought there was a basis of truth in haunted houses, and had, as far back as we could remember, had faith in demoniacal possession.

Now, it is certain that if the cat ever does jump this way, the cautious methods of the "S. P. R." will give it a position of extraordinary influence. As, one after another, the fashion-setting converts dropped in and the popular credulity began, its efforts at exactitude about evidence and its timidity in speculating would seem supremely virtuous. Sober-headed scientists would look to its temper as a bulwark; whilst its poor little detached facts, no longer so idiotic and neglectable, would prove the least of possible entering wedges for theosophists and others who had ready-made supernaturalistic philosophies to propagate. In short, the "S. P. R." would be a surprisingly useful mediator between the old order and the new.

All this on the supposition that the Helmholtzes and Huxleys *did* become converted. Now, the present writer (not wholly insensible to the ill consequences of putting himself on record as a false prophet) must candidly express his own suspicion that sooner or later the cat *must* jump this way. The special means of his conversion have been the trances of the medium whose case in the "Proceedings" was alluded to above. Knowing these trances at first hand, he cannot escape the conclusion that in them the medium's knowledge of facts increases enormously, and in a manner impossible of explanation by any principles of which our existing science takes account. Facts are facts, and the larger includes the less; so these trances doubtless make me the more lenient to the other facts recorded in the "Proceedings." I find myself also suspecting that the thought-transference experiments,

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the veridical hallucinations, the crystal-vision, yea, even the ghosts, are sorts of thing which with the years will tend to establish themselves. All of us live more or less on some inclined plane of credulity. The plane tips one way in one man, another way in another; and may he whose plane tips in *no* way be the first to cast a stone! But whether the other things establish themselves more and more or grow less and less probable, the trances I speak of have broken down for my own mind the limits of the admitted order of nature. Science, so far as science denies such exceptional facts, lies prostrate in the dust for me; and the most urgent intellectual need which I feel at present is that science be built up again in a form in which such facts shall have a positive place. Science, like life, feeds on its own decay. New facts burst old rules; then newly divined conceptions bind old and new together into a reconciling law.

And here finally is the real instructiveness of Messrs. Myers and Gurney's work. They are trying with the utmost conscientiousness to find a reconciling conception which shall subject the old "laws of nature" to the smallest possible strain. Mr. Myers uses that method of gradual approach which has performed such wonders in Darwin's hands. When Darwin met a fact which seemed a poser to his theory, his regular custom, as I have heard an ingenious friend say, was to *fill in* all round it with smaller facts, and so mitigate the jolt, as a wagoner might heap dirt round a big rock in the road, and thus get his team over without upsetting. So Mr. Myers, starting from the most ordinary facts of inattentive consciousness, follows this clew through a long series which terminates in ghosts, and seeks to show that these are but extreme manifestations of a common truth, the truth that our normal conscious life is but the visible segment of a spectrum indefinitely long, of which the invisible segments are capable, under rarely realized conditions, of acting and being acted upon by the invisible segments of other conscious lives. This may not be ultimately true (for the theosophists, with their astral bodies and the like, may, for aught I know, prove to be on the correcter trail), but no one can deny that it is *scientific*.

Science always takes a known kind of phenomenon and tries to extend its range. Sensorial hallucination is a known phenomenon; and it is also a known phenomenon that impressions received by the "subliminal"[1] strata of consciousness may be hallucinatory in their intensity—witness the phenomena of dreams and the hypnotic trance.

[1] Subliminal, from *sub* and *limen*: "beneath the threshold."

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Mr. Myers accordingly seeks to interpret mediumistic experiences and ghostly apparitions as so many effects of the impact upon the subliminal consciousness of causes "behind the veil." The *effects*, psychologically speaking, are hallucinations; yet so far as they are "veridical" they must be held probably to have an "objective" cause. What that objective cause may be Mr. Myers does not decide; yet from the context of many of the hallucinations it would seem to be an intelligence other than that of the medium's or seer's ordinary self, and the interesting question is, Is it what I have called the extra-conscious intelligence of persons still living, or is it the intelligence of persons who have themselves passed behind the veil? Only the most scrupulous examination of the "veridical" effects themselves can decide. I do not myself see how any candid mind can doubt that Mr. Myers' scrupulous testing of the minutest cases is in the line of the best scientific tradition. I do not see, whatever prove the fate of his hypothesis, how his "working of it for all it is worth" can fail to mark a distinct step onward in our knowledge of the truth.

I have myself, during the past two years as American agent for the census, collected some five hundred cases of "hallucination" in healthy people. The result is to make me feel that we all have potentially a "subliminal" self, which may make at any time irruption into our ordinary lives. In its lowest phases it is only the depository of our forgotten memories; in its highest, we don't know what it is at all. Take, for instance, a series of cases. During sleep many persons have *something* in them which measures the flight of time better than the waking self does. It wakes them at a preappointed hour; it acquaints them with the moment when they first awake. It may produce an hallucination, as in a lady who informs me that at the instant of waking she has a vision of her watch-face with the hands pointing (as she has often verified) to the exact time. Whatever it is, it is subconscious.

A subconscious something may also preserve experiences to which we do not openly attend. A lady taking her lunch in town finds herself without her purse. Instantly a sense comes over her of rising from the breakfast-table and hearing her purse drop on the floor. On reaching home she finds nothing under the table, but summons the servant to say where she has put the purse. The servant produces it, saying: "How did you know where it was? You rose and left the room as if you didn't know you'd dropped it." The same subconscious something may recollect what we have forgotten. A lady used to taking salicylate of soda for muscular rheumatism awakens one early

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winter morning with an aching neck. In the twilight she takes what she supposes to be her customary powder from a drawer, dissolves it in a glass of water, and is about to drink it down, when she feels a sharp slap on her shoulder and hears a voice in her ear saying, "Taste it!" On examination, she finds she has got a morphine powder by mistake. The natural interpretation is that a sleeping memory of the morphine powders awoke in this quasi-explosive way. A like explanation offers itself as most plausible for the following case: A lady, with little time to catch the train, and the expressman about to call, is excitedly looking for the lost key of a packed trunk. Hurrying upstairs with a bunch of keys, proved useless, in her hand, she hears an "objective" voice distinctly say, "Try the key of the cake-box." Being tried, it fits. This may well have been the effect of some long-eclipsed experience.

Now, the *effect* is doubtless due to the same hallucinatory mechanism, but the *source* is less easily assigned as we ascend the scale of cases. A lady, for instance, goes after breakfast to see about one of her servants who has become ill over night. She is startled at distinctly reading over the bedroom door in gilt letters the word "small-pox." The doctor is sent for, and ere long pronounces small-pox to be the disease, although the lady says, "The thought of the girl's having small-pox never entered my mind till I saw the apparent inscription." Then come other cases of warning; *e.g.*, that of a youth sitting in a wagon under a shed, who suddenly hears his dead mother's voice say, "Stephen, get away from here quick," and jumps out just in time to see the shed roof fall.

After this come the by no means infrequent experiences, usually visual, but sometimes both visual and auditory, of people appearing to distant friends at or near the hour of death. Then we have the trance-visions and utterances, which (as in the case of a circle of private persons with whom I have recently become acquainted) may appear astonishingly profuse and continuous and maintain a superior level intellectually. For all these higher phenomena, it seems to me that whilst the proximate mechanism is that of "hallucination," it is straining an hypothesis unduly to name any ordinary subconscious operation, such as expectation, recollection, or inference from inattentive perception, as the ultimate cause that starts it up. It is far better tactics to brand the narratives themselves as unworthy of trust. The trustworthiness of most of them is to my own mind far from proved. And yet, in the light of the medium-trance, which *is* proved, it seems as if they might well all be members of a "natural kind" of fact of

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which we do not yet know the full extent. Thousands of "sensitive" organizations in the United States to-day live as steadily in the light of these experiences and are as indifferent to modern "science" as if they lived in Bohemia in the twelfth century. They are indifferent to science, because science is so callously indifferent to their experiences. The essential "point" I wish to make to my readers is that by taking the experiences of these persons as they come and applying the ordinary methods of science to their discussion, the "Proceedings" of the "S. P. R.," whatever be their theoretic outcome, form a department of empirical natural history worthy of all encouragement and respect.

A final word about the *practical* outcome of inquiries into the extra consciousness may not be out of place. I remember saying, at a public meeting in Boston three years since, that a good psychical researcher let loose in an insane-asylum would be likely to discover facts in the patients which the doctors had overlooked. M. Pierre Janet, on the whole the most brilliant French inquirer into the extra-consciousness, gave a pretty verification of this prediction last year by the "*Études sur un Cas d'Aboulie et d'Idées Fixes*," which he published in the "*Revue Philosophique*." He is only a professor of philosophy, but he pursues his studies in the Paris hospitals, and in the *Salpêtrière* he had a patient named Marcella, aged nineteen, handed over to him.

Marcella was a melancholic girl whose character had gradually become so changed for the worse as to be unrecognizable, and whose life was a picture of invincible apathy and inertia, varied by occasional spells of violence—a sort of case that in our asylums is generally "let alone" as much as possible, in the hope that time may of itself effect a cure. M. Janet patiently and lovingly studied all her symptoms, and describes them at great length. The essential facts for my present purpose are these: He soon observed that she had periods of absent-mindedness, which he calls her "clouds." During these "clouds" she responded to no questions, and after them had no memory of what had taken place in them. But by piecing together various partial clews which he elicited, he discovered that although so outwardly impassive, she was a prey throughout these "clouds" to monotonous hallucinations of a terrifying sort. When I say that what she told when hypnotized was one of his clews, and that her automatic writing was another, the reader will see why I speak of M. Janet's methods as those of a psychical researcher.

The next thing which he made out was that her inertia and melancholy were in great part after-effects of these hallucinations. M. Janet

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tried all usual methods, including ordinary hypnotic commands, with only transient success. Only when he *entered into* her hallucinations, confining them in part, but mixing other elements with them and giving them new terminations, did marked benefit result. But here a fresh difficulty came up. After each successive delusion that was exorcised, the patient became better than ever before; but each one was replaced after some days by another more obstinate and bad. At last there came a delusion, based on hallucinations of hearing, which made her refuse her food. It persisted so long that, at the end of his resources one day, M. Janet put a pencil into her hand to see if she might not automatically prescribe for herself. "*Il faut la forcer, et ce sera fini*," the hand "unconsciously" wrote. But when force was applied, Marcella fell into an alarming hystero-epileptic attack which lasted two hours and made the experimenter momentarily regret his rashness.

From this attack she unexpectedly emerged *quite well*, and remained so for twelve days. Then she relapsed into the same delusion coupled with the additional refusal to speak; and this condition, terminating by a similar convulsive crisis, never returned again. Before long, however, a frenzied attack of suicidal mania set in, lasted fifteen days, and then spontaneously disappeared, leaving the girl practically *cured* and oblivious of all that had happened in the previous weeks. Her condition, for several months at least, was *normal*. But the remarkable aspect of the case is one of which M. Janet saw the significance only late in the series of his operations. The hallucinations were largely based on painful experiences in the girl's life, which came up, as if present again, in her "clouds." Her morbid waking state was a sort of resultant effect of the accumulation of these influences; and each later hallucination that was peeled off, so to speak, by M. Janet gave an older one a chance to become more acute, until the whole regressive series was run through. Her mind was thus gradually freed of a deposit of obsessions that had accumulated during five years. The refusal to eat and the suicidal frenzy were repetitions of crises that she had gone through at the beginning of her malady, and once having thrown them off she got entirely well. Might not such a case well lead our younger medical men to explore their patients' "subliminal selves" a little more than they yet do?

WILLIAM JAMES.

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THE WESTERN TRAFFIC ASSOCIATION.

THE purpose of this article is to state in a concrete and practical way the economic reasons for the existence of the Western Traffic Association. On December 15, 1890, the presidents of various Western railway companies met in the city of New York, and unanimously agreed to recommend to their respective boards of directors the passing of certain resolutions, which were soon after duly ratified. The organization thus established became effective January 31, 1891.

The resolutions were brief; they provided for the formation of an association between the several companies whose lines were situated west of Chicago and St. Louis, its affairs to be managed by an advisory board consisting of the president and one member of the board of directors of each company, which should have power to establish and maintain uniform rates between competitive points and decide all questions of common interest. It was further provided that the rates established and the policy adopted by the advisory board at any time should continue in force and be binding upon all companies composing the association until altered by subsequent action of the board; that the vote of at least four-fifths of the members of the association should be required to make its action binding upon all; that the advisory board should appoint proper arbitrators, commissioners, and other representatives, and adopt by-laws to carry out the purposes of the association; that no company should withdraw from the association except after giving ninety days' notice to other members by vote of its board of directors; and that if any officer or representative of any company should authorize or promise, directly or indirectly, any variation from established tariffs he should be discharged from the service, with the reasons stated.

The lines composing this association are as follows: Atchison, Topeka & Sante Fé; Burlington, Cedar Rapids & Northern; Chicago & Northwestern; Chicago, Burlington & Quincy; Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul; Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific; Denver & Rio Grande; Great Northern; Illinois Central; Iowa Central; Missouri Pacific; Northern Pacific; Rio Grande Western; Southern Pacific;

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Union Pacific; Wabash. These railroads have an aggregate mileage of about 58,000 miles within the limits of the association, which now include the following States and Territories: Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, and California. The membership does not represent every line within this territory, but it embraces nearly all, and the few lines which remain outside recognize its usefulness and refrain from embarrassing its operation.

Although every combination of capital is viewed with misgiving by the public, the most casual observation shows that active and even violent competition between individual railroads continues to exist, notwithstanding the universal use of association methods. The merits of each line are compared by all patrons; shippers are importuned without mercy; and every effort is made to perform the transportation service satisfactorily and with dispatch. So far as the rates charged are concerned, it is generally recognized that there is no exaggerated profit in the operation of the railways. The fortunes which have been made are seen to have been the result of dealings in stocks and in titles, the consequences of which, if involving wrong, are rightly charged against the lax legislation which has made such operations possible. The business of carrying passengers and freight from point to point is conducted upon close margins, and produces less net returns than are realized from investments in most other industries. The rates in use in the West have been dissected and the results analyzed by railway commissions and in the public journals, until the feeling has become general that they are in fact upon a low plane. The rate adjustments that give rise to complaints to-day are relative, based upon comparisons, and affecting the standing of particular towns and cities in the struggle for commercial supremacy. Minneapolis is now engaged in a contest with Duluth in respect to grain rates, Eau Claire with La Crosse on lumber rates, Wichita with Atchison on merchandise rates, San Bernardino with Los Angeles on all rates; but in these cases and others like them the adjustment desired could be accomplished by advances at one point as readily as by reductions at another. Local rates in certain States are thought by some to be too high as compared with the rates charged on through traffic, but this complaint might coexist with a universal railway bankruptcy. So far as the aggregate revenues of the roads are concerned, there is now little or no intelligent complaint. The practical question is in respect to

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preserving existing competitive methods and agencies with due regard to the proper balancing of competitive forces. It is well worth while to endeavor to understand, if possible, just how the Western Traffic Association is useful to the public.

In the first place, it should be noted that agreements of this character are not new, but are of long standing; are not local, but are practically universal. With differences in machinery and detail, they have been found necessary and have existed ever since two railroad companies first met in competition for common traffic. Imagine, if possible, that our present railway system was effaced, and that there was only one road between New York and Chicago. Then suppose another line to be some day opened with facilities in every way equal to the first. It starts out with the same rates as the former, but after its newness wears away it discovers that traffic largely pursues the channels with which custom has bred familiarity. In order to attract business to itself, the new line ventures upon a fractional reduction in its rates. Traffic instantly changes its course, for the slightest variation in railway rates always accomplishes an immediate result. The old line sees its customers leaving, and they do not hesitate to say that they go because they are better treated elsewhere. A prompt response is made by the company first in the field, which cannot afford to have it said that the new road can do business cheaper than itself. And so the merry war goes on, with a cut here and an under-cut there, until dividends are passed, rolling-stock goes without repair, bridges are left to decay, wages are reduced, the service becomes demoralized, coupons at last remain unpaid, and the aid of the courts is invoked by the bondholders. Such a history, which has been many times repeated in the United States, is a calamity, not only to the owners of the roads, but to the public also. Every rate war unsettles values, breeds discriminations, impairs the safety of property and life, and tends to the ultimate extinction of competition.

Under present conditions there is but one preventive, namely, an agreement between the competitors themselves upon the rates which shall be charged and the processes to be employed in the ascertainment of the traffic charge. The line which desires the lowest rate will always have its way, and competitive transportation cannot be conducted except under rates, rules, and regulations which are either absolutely equalized or are differentiated by agreed concessions. The dangers arising from unregulated competition increase in a geometrical ratio with the multiplication of competing lines. There are now eight

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strong lines in operation between New York and Chicago; and the unremitting efforts of the Trunk Line Association east of Buffalo and Pittsburg and the Central Traffic Association west therefrom are unable to prevent a constant condition of uncertainty in the rates. So long as our railroads are operated by individual managements, there can be no absolute establishment of railway charges upon a firm and unchangeable basis. The best that can be done in that direction is merely tentative, and must come from the voluntary action of the executive officers of the railroad companies themselves.

In one aspect the railway association may be regarded as an expedient by which, in periodical seasons of difficulty, arising sometimes from short crops and light traffic, sometimes from financial stringency, sometimes from hostility between railway managements carried to ruinous excess, a temporary protection is obtained against impending corporate bankruptcies. When the bar has been tided over and the competing carriers find themselves once more upon an apparently open sea, former methods are gradually resumed, excuses are readily found for the abandonment of pledges hard to keep, and the strife of traffic officers soon precipitates a renewal of disastrous conditions. The Western Traffic Association is built upon the sand and is liable at any time to vanish from sight, like its numerous predecessors, and be forgotten. But in such a case there must presently be a return to some similar arrangement; possibly not until some of the competitive lines have been "absorbed," but certainly at some time, unless Congress shall modify the present laws, which, while ostensibly framed to perpetuate railway competition, in fact tend to its ultimate extinction.

In passing it may be observed that this history is by no means peculiar to the business of transportation. Although competition between railway carriers is peculiarly exigent, by reason of the almost countless points of contact which exist, similar conditions are found in the business of insurance and in professional vocations, in manufacturing and merchandise, in labor and agriculture, in fact, in every calling where two or more men seek the same market for the same thing. A distinguished judge in Wisconsin once used the following language: "But I apprehend it is not true that competition is the life of trade. On the contrary, that maxim is one of the least reliable of the host that may be picked up in every market-place. It is in fact the shibboleth of mere gambling speculation, and is hardly entitled to take rank as an axiom in the jurisprudence of this country. I believe that universal observation will attest that for the last quarter of a

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century competition in trade has caused more individual disasters, if not more public injury, than the want of competition." A judge of a New York court of appeals recently said: "I do not think that competition is invariably a public benefaction; for it may be carried on to such a degree as to become a general evil." Another New York jurist recently remarked that "excessive competition may sometimes result in actual injury to the public, and contracts between competitors to avert personal ruin may be perfectly reasonable." The last remark was coupled with a finding that the object of the promoters of the organization then in question (the Sugar Trust) was not to protect themselves against ruinous competition, but that it was entered into solely for the purpose of obtaining exorbitant prices, and was clearly opposed to the interest of the public. This distinction is becoming more clearly recognized as the years go by. Combinations for the reasonable regulation of ruinous competition are necessary; combinations for the extortion of unreasonable profits deserve condemnation. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

It was observed above that agreements between carriers designed to mitigate, in some slight degree, the evils which arise from unhealthy competition were not local, but universal. In the United States cooperative organizations have been in existence for many years, and are commonly called "associations." They are found in all parts of the land. In England they are, perhaps, more accurately named "conferences," and are employed by railroad and steamship lines with general approval and success. Upon the Continent like results are reached in various ways. The business of transportation cannot be conducted without them, except upon the basis of a division of territory, substituting monopoly for competition.

In the light of the foregoing suggestions, it is now possible to define with precision the object of the organization of traffic associations among railway companies. Stated theoretically, it is the voluntary regulation of excessive and illegitimate competition. Stated metaphorically, it is the establishment of a breakwater against the bankruptcies and receiverships which so often result in permanent consolidations. Stated practically, it is the establishment and maintenance of reasonable railway rates. Some of these statements may be made more clear. The meaning of the adjectives "excessive" and "illegitimate" should be distinctly understood. There is unquestionably a competition which is useful and legitimate. By "excessive" railway competition is meant competition which goes to the extent of depriv-

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ing the carriers of revenue from traffic adequate to maintain a safe and satisfactory service for the public, and to compensate fairly the owners of the property for their investment. We need not here go into the question as to whether the latter should be considered on the basis of present value or of cost; either basis will do for the purpose in hand.

No sane man claims that investors in railways should not receive sufficient reward to secure the retention of capital in the railway business or that the rates should be reduced below the line necessary for absolute safety and most complete efficiency. Competition which makes these things impossible is excessive and must be regulated. Regulation by voluntary action is in entire harmony with the spirit of our institutions. By "illegitimate" railway competition is meant the use of competitive methods which are contrary to law. At the common law, as well as under the statutes of most of the States and of the United States, it is illegal for common carriers to discriminate unjustly between their patrons. Every person seeking for the services of a common carrier is entitled to know that he is charged no more than his neighbor who obtains the same service under the same conditions. It is therefore made illegal for a railway company to make use of rebates, drawbacks, or other concessions of like nature. Competition which involves their employment is illegitimate competition; and it is one of the objects of railway associations to put such competition down. The meaning of the statement that the object of railway associations is "the voluntary regulation of excessive and illegitimate competition" may thus be clearly understood.

So also in respect to the statement made above that the object of railway associations is "the establishment and maintenance of reasonable railway rates." The interstate commerce law has required that all railway rates shall be "reasonable," the definition of which is aside from our purpose here. In order that discrimination may be prevented, the same law has required that the rates to be charged for all transportation services shall be filed in a government office at Washington and published by posting at every railway station. Before schedules can be printed and posted, they must first be formulated with precision, and this is what is meant by the word "establishment" as used above. Going one step further, the act to regulate commerce provides that no greater or less sum shall be charged to any shipper than the amount named in the schedules so established. In other words, the rates as fixed shall not be varied from, and the service to be performed shall be furnished on equal terms to all patrons.

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This is what is meant by the word "maintaining" when applied to established rates. The establishment and the maintenance of reasonable railway rates are requirements of law, imperative upon all common carriers, and are the leading objects of railway associations as now organized and carried on.

There are some incidental matters in respect to which cooperative action is necessary and which are handled through the agency of associations. I have considered only competitive traffic. Another subject of great importance to the public is described by the title "joint traffic." Under their various charters each railway company might have contented itself with receiving passengers or freight and delivering them at the end of its line as forwarders; but instead of this the various companies have become accustomed to act together in establishing through rates of fare and through freight tariffs between most distant points, without regard to the hostile relations which necessarily exist among them in respect to competitive traffic. Tickets are purchased on every line for most remote destinations. Freight is universally consigned to any point desired, in the United States or in adjacent foreign countries. Shippers need not inquire concerning the route which their goods will pursue. They are advised of the established through rate, and rely without anxiety upon the arrangements which the several companies have voluntarily established between themselves for its delivery. The principal subjects of negotiation and concerted action in associations, connected with joint traffic, are through rates, classifications of freight, apportionment of receipts, and inspection. Time tables, car exchanges, and traffic balances are usually arranged by individual connecting lines.

Through rates to points of ultimate destination are usually published by the lines on which the traffic originates; but such rates necessarily involve agreement between all the lines composing the through routes which could not be practically effected except through the agency of railway associations. The system in use is extremely complicated. It is subject to constant fluctuations and is the result of long years of negotiation. Certain principles in the relation of rates in one section of country to those in another and in the use of established differences, sometimes called "differentials," upon alternative routes or through alternative gateways have been worked out, often by some arbitration or agreement, presenting a medium between adverse claims. Through rates are usually somewhat less than the sum of local rates. The mileage rate of the shortest line is the maxi-

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mum which can be charged by the longest line; and in some cases the rate by the longest line is less than by the short line, in order that a portion of the business may in that way be attracted to a route where the time is longer and the service less desirable. The apportionment of receipts from joint traffic between the various lines which participate in the through routes is a subject of utmost importance to the carriers, although of little or no interest to the general public. The question with shippers is as to the aggregate rate to be paid from the initial point to destination. The division thereof between the various roads which unite in performing the service affords a constant subject of controversy and negotiation.

The subject of freight inspection is another important matter. Without it, advantages would be continually obtained by shippers as against each other. Freight is examined at various important points where it is received or which it passes in transit, for the purpose of ascertaining that it is properly classified, weighed, and waybilled. If this work were performed by individual roads, there would be a constant inducement to promote preferences and advantages in order to obtain traffic which otherwise might be taken upon competing lines. Bureaus, therefore, have been established as association agencies, which are not controlled by individual lines, but which represent all their members in the requirement that the rules of shipment shall be universally and justly applied. The reports of these various inspection bureaus which are now in operation, some of them within association limits and some upon association boundaries, show hundreds and thousands of cases of attempted discrimination and fraud which are corrected through their agency.

The most noticeable difference between the organization of the Western Traffic Association and other similar associations existing elsewhere lies in the fact that it finds its origin closer to the centre of power. General freight agents and general passenger agents have usually been accustomed to formulate their own rules and methods of procedure. In some instances the authority has been derived from action by general traffic managers, and in a few cases from the presidents themselves. In the Western Traffic Association, however, the power emanates from a source even higher than the presidents, namely, the boards of directors of the several companies. Railway directors are conservative, cautious, and judicious. They do not frequently act hastily or upon impulse. They are familiar with results rather than with the details of shifting traffic questions and controversies.

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There is but one step higher from which authority could be derived, viz., the stockholders, who annually elect the directors of each company. These are the ultimate and actual owners of the railway properties; and in case the directors prove themselves unable to cope with the difficulties surrounding the reasonable regulation of railway competition, the stockholders themselves will find it necessary to undertake the solution of the question. Hardly any other solution, however, would seem to be available to them except gigantic consolidations, either by union of franchises or through the agency of leases or of operating companies. So long as the several lines realize earnings sufficient to maintain an individual existence, the day of general consolidations will be postponed. The tendency of the tide, however, in that direction is strong. Every case of financial embarrassment, even though it does not proceed to the point of actual bankruptcy, makes some purchase, lease, or other financial combination desirable and possible. The movement in this direction is gradual, but is a marked condition of the American railway system. These suggestions may serve to explain the statement made above, that railway associations act as a breakwater against the incoming wave of railway consolidations.

It may be interesting to some to understand more accurately the routine methods of railway association work. The Western Traffic Association does not directly take charge of the establishment of railway rates. Its function in this matter is analogous to that of an appellate tribunal. The territory which it covers is distributed between various other associations of long standing, and in which all action for the change of established rates, rules, and regulations originates. The Western Freight Association and the Western Passenger Association cover the territory between Chicago and the Missouri River. The Trans-Missouri Freight and Passenger associations extend thence nearly to the western boundary of Arizona, Utah, and Montana. The Transcontinental Association embraces traffic to and from the Pacific Coast. In case any member of either of these bodies desires to obtain a change in any existing rate, rule or regulation, notice is given and the subject is considered at a monthly meeting.

Sometimes it is found that rules and regulations require modification in order that they may not impede the flow of traffic, but (aside from joint-traffic questions) nine out of ten of the subjects docketed are proposed reductions in rates. Advances are also occasionally made to correct a demonstrated favoritism to some locality or on

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some particular description of traffic, or to restore reasonable rates which have become demoralized and unprofitable through excessive competition. In no case, however, can a rate be advanced in rate committees against the objection of any one line interested in the traffic in question; and a line to which traffic is turned by lower rates is always exceedingly reluctant to surrender its advantage.

But why, it may be asked, should a proposed reduction in rates be submitted to vote at a meeting of traffic officers representing different lines? Why should not a line reduce its rates, if it wishes to do so, without consultation with its competitors? The answer to this question is important and requires some understanding of the conditions. The explanation is found in the fact that railway rates are universally interdependent. Every rate affects some other rate, and no single line can reduce existing tariffs without seriously affecting other interests, except only in respect to the small portion of traffic which is strictly local, to which association agreements do not apply.

When the interest of railway lines is spoken of, it should not be forgotten that their interest is here identical with that of their shippers. In the establishment of competitive rates, the traffic officials of the several roads simply reflect the desires of the shippers located upon their respective lines. Each carrier naturally seeks to stimulate and increase its own traffic. In order to do so, it strives to secure advantages for its patrons, or at least to overcome their disadvantages, natural or otherwise. Producers of lumber, of brick, of wagons, of soap, of every description of natural and manufactured products, are always seeking common markets, from all directions and from all distances. A reduction of five cents a hundred pounds in the rate is often sufficient to give a shipper absolute control of a point of distribution and to shut out his competitors. This, of course, destroys just so much of the traffic of competing railways. Each line must protect its own traffic. Hence the necessity for conference and agreement before industries are ruined by hasty action.

Take another example. Two roads (in fact, there are eight) may be thought of as running from Kansas City to Chicago and the East, serving adjacent counties through the States of Missouri, Iowa, and Illinois in the transportation of their products. Suppose the rates upon one are five cents per hundred-weight higher than those from opposite points upon the other. Instantly all the farmers in the intermediate country, even those upon the line of the high-rate road, will begin to drive their cattle and hogs to the low-rate road, will haul their

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corn and their wheat to its cribs and elevators, and will give it all traffic on which the expense of delivery is less than the difference in the freight. The high-rate road is forced to accept the rates of its competitor or go without the business. If its financial condition is strong enough to warrant it in surrendering the business, a claim of discrimination is asserted. Shippers on its line demand rates corresponding with those afforded to shippers on the other line. The theory that any unjust discrimination or unjust preference or advantage in respect to individuals, communities, or descriptions of traffic must be suppressed by the State has become firmly lodged in legislation; but it must not be forgotten that discriminations, preferences, and advantages are much more frequently caused by differing rates upon different roads than by a different adjustment of charges to shippers and localities on the same road.

If the example last cited is not sufficient upon this point, let us take another instance, that of manufacturers of identical products, stoves for example, or harvesters, situated in the suburbs of the same city, say Chicago or St. Louis, but whose side tracks are upon different railroad lines. If one line gives more favorable rates to Kansas or Nebraska, where the common market lies, the industries upon the other road will be speedily shut down and the plants dismantled. Such a discrimination is as fatal as would be the giving of different rates to manufacturers located upon the same railroad; and this runs through all interior manufacturing and producing points, some of which are widely remote from each other. The relative standing of all has to be adjusted; and when adjusted, the adjustment must be maintained, or fluctuation of values and commercial disasters will render the transaction of business uncertain and impossible.

The extent of the application of these considerations is infinite. It is hardly possible to conceive of a change of any rate upon any line (except, as above stated, between two strictly local points) which does not directly affect the profits of shippers by some other line. Hence we see the necessity and propriety of the open and deliberate discussion of the reasonableness of any proposed change in rates. Every such change may involve discrimination or prejudice at other points and on other lines. Corresponding changes must be elsewhere made, unless the one proposed is simply the correction of an existing injustice. In the rate-committee meetings an opportunity is given for the reduction of rates in such a manner as to maintain that due relation of each tariff with all others which justice requires and which has

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been made a legal obligation, and also to prevent undue preferences and advantages by making the reductions and changes effective at the same time from and to all points and over all lines. The principal work of rate committees is the relative adjustment of rates between points of production, distribution, and consumption, in which every traffic officer most efficiently and intelligently represents his patrons. Exact justice is not claimed and is probably not attainable. Approximate justice is arrived at through the perpetual contest of conflicting forces.

Passenger rates, while theoretically more stable than freight rates, involving little classification and usually based upon a standard tariff of three cents per mile governed at competing points by the short-line distance, nevertheless are the subject of constant variation and concession through the customary and frequent allowance of special privileges. The passenger associations arrange the common round-trip reductions between all points of commercial importance, the mileage tickets which travellers so readily learn to use, and also the reduced rates which are daily conceded to gatherings of every class, from county fairs and circuses to educational and political conventions or societies of Christian Endeavor. In all these cases the rates of competing lines must be identical, or the lowest takes the whole business; and the effect of these reductions, with the long-distance tourist privileges so freely arranged for travel in every direction, is to reduce the average rate per mile from three cents to two, and on many lines to less than two cents. This, it must be remembered, is the average, not the minimum; the price of cheap travel is as much less than two cents as the standard rate is above that average.

The Western Traffic Association interferes only when the rate committees are unable to agree. In such cases the line proposing the change has the right of an appeal to arbitration. This the Western Traffic Association affords through the establishment of a permanent board of commissioners, now consisting of five members, who hear such matters after giving notice to all interested lines, and endeavor to adjust the differences in such way as to give rise to the least possible discrimination and complaint. In case the awards are unsatisfactory, a right of appeal to the advisory board remains; or any line may give ninety days' notice that it will make the rate in question in spite of all objections.

I have thus endeavored to explain the function of railway associations, and particularly of the Western Traffic Association, in the es-

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tablishment of railway rates. All interstate rates, when established, are required by law to be openly announced to the public for a stated time, ten days in case of advances and three days in case of reductions, in accordance with the schedules which are to be at the same time filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The subject of the maintenance of rates thus established, promulgated, and filed remains to be considered. This also is a requirement of the law, its object being the suppression of unjust discrimination by the enforcement of equal rates to all. And it is obvious that unjust discrimination is accomplished through the use of secret cuts, or by the allowance of rebates or commissions upon one of two parallel lines, or when given to manufacturers located upon one of two or of six competing routes, as effectively as when the favoritism is shown between the patrons of a single road.

This evil is also positive from a strictly railroad point of view. The object of every shading of the tariff is to secure traffic that otherwise might seek some other route. A fair distribution of common business is represented by the ordinary flow of traffic under an absolute maintenance of rates, either equal or properly differentiated. When rates are cut this natural division of business is disturbed; freight commonly taking one route is diverted to another; patrons of one line are induced to transfer their allegiance. The reason is not far to seek, and retaliation follows. Presently what is called a demoralization in the rate situation ensues; revenues are depleted; the law is violated; chaos reigns.

It would perhaps seem that the application of ordinary business principles would be sufficient to prevent such practices as these, but unfortunately this is by no means true. Two reasons may be mentioned: First, the eager pursuit of tonnage by traffic officers, including commercial and soliciting agents, representatives of fast-freight lines, owners of live-stock cars and other special forms of equipment, each of whom is egged on to what is called efficient service by a constant comparison of present results with the statistics of former years, and all of whom know by long and well-taught experience that the easy way to develop business or to hold business once acquired is to make it in some way an object for shippers to patronize their route. Ingenuity has devised methods without number, which use has familiarized and which are relinquished with the greatest regret; but these are naught save devices to buy business through concessions to individual shippers, justified by apparent necessity and by the custom of many

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years. Secondly, the persistent importunity of patrons, who beg openly, misrepresent unscrupulously, and devise ingeniously, to the end that they may get a trifle, be it ever so small, "off tariff," in consideration of their patronage. In the language of the street, "anything goes" with shippers, from a free pass to a greenback, from the allowance of a bogus claim to free storage, from a clerk on the payroll to a dinner at the club. If the facts in respect to the pursuit of personal favors and discrimination by shippers were fully known, all surprise that the law against unjust discrimination has been so extensively a dead letter would disappear. Laws are not enforced unless sustained by public opinion; and even that honorable part of the mercantile and business community which declines to break the law, though at great personal sacrifice, does not yet see that the methods in which they were educated involve any degree of moral turpitude or can justly be considered criminal.

Under these conditions the presidents organized the Western Traffic Association, having for one of its objects the maintenance of rates, and power to that end was conferred upon the advisory board by mutual agreement. Enough has been said to show the necessity of associations among railroads and the propriety and usefulness of that particular organization. It is simply an effort on the part of the directors of the several companies to regulate excessive and illegitimate competition among themselves, to preserve existing competitive agencies, and to carry on their business in conformity to law. Their attempts are greatly hampered by legislation which forbids the formation of pools, the employment of which, under proper governmental supervision, might serve to assure the several lines that a fair share of common business would in the end be received by each, and thus remove the temptation to fight for it illegitimately. Such fighting is radically vicious to all interests, however pleasant and desirable it may seem to self-styled anti-monopolists. The establishment of some system for the just distribution of competitive traffic, either through the voluntary action of interested roads or by some power superior to all the roads, is essential to any successful scheme of governmental regulation.

ALDACE F. WALKER.

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AN EXAMPLE OF ORGANIZED THRIFT.

It is not longer to be doubted that the Catholic Church has set itself the serious task of dealing broadly and yet systematically with the "social problem." At general and local congresses the space given to the issues thus connoted increases year by year. The Pope's position is now as definite as it is aggressive. Three leaders of the Church in Germany have something of the prominence taken in England by Cardinal Manning and in the United States by Cardinal Gibbons and Bishop Ireland. In France, the Catholic schools report an "extraordinary growth of interest in economic and social studies."

This movement has been called "only a bit of unconscious socialism." The charge is as confused as it is untrue. Any theory of industrial society which accepts the wage function as a permanent fact, which sees in present forms of property a "divine significance," which stands both for private rent of land and capital, is as precisely opposed to any proper conception of socialism as Herbert Spencer is opposed to it. It is this practical union of the Church with the enormous forces of private property which, rightly or wrongly, constitutes its actual strength. The recent work of the Catholic economist Professor Jannet, "*Le Capital*," in its skilful defence of interest, shows how profoundly conservative are the intellectual leaders of this movement.

It is, I think, Renan who calls Sainte-Beuve the prophet of the past. In the Val-des-Bois, in northern France, is a large and extremely successful textile business that is filled with this kind of prophecy. At a time when the new interest of the Catholic Church in social questions was jeered at as "not even serious," the Harmels of Harmelville had long practised the theory which pope and prelate are now preaching. It is indeed as if the actual achievements of this business had shaped and guided the philosophy. The predecessor of the present Pope wrote to Léon Harmel, the chief owner and manager, expressing his delight that a great business *could* be carried on upon principles which the Church could bless. In 1879 Leo XIII. wrote to the Archbishop of Reims congratulating him that in his diocese he could show so perfect a work. In the Harmel home I saw remarkable testimonials from the

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most distinguished leaders of the Church in France and Italy. The most precious was a recent gift from the Pope's own hand to Léon Harmel—an exquisite portrait of the Pope upon porcelain framed in gold. This wide and eager sanction of the Church would of itself lend unusual interest to this business of the brothers Harmel, but the simplest statement of the facts will show that the praises have been fairly won.

The first woollen mill was founded by Jacques Joseph Harmel in 1840, though "*la Maison Harmel*" dates from 1797 in the Ardennes, it being moved to Val-des-Bois in 1840. It now employs nearly a thousand workmen and workwomen. The institutions here described are almost wholly of the present generation, and chiefly the work of Léon Harmel during the last twenty-two years. They are classified as follows: 1. Fundamental associations; 2. Corporative and economic institutions; 3. Societies for moral preservation; 4. Religious works.

1. The fundamental associations carry into the spheres of education and morals the idea of the corporation; it is recognized that the method of the corporation is not only necessary in *la grande industrie*, but just as essential for systematic, moral, and economic training of industrial groups. The associations are divided into seven societies: A. Men above seventeen years of age; B. Youths from the first communion to the age of seventeen; C. Boys before the age of first communion; D. The mothers; E. Young girls from the fifteenth year to marriage; F. Girls from first communion to fifteen years of age; G. Girls before their first communion. Each division has its own weekly council meeting for the transaction of business and the discussion of its interests. These councils are composed of laborers elected by their fellows. A point insisted on is the entire independence of these councils, as only through their free action can the spirit of self-help be developed.

The men of A have a large and beautiful hall, in the centre of which are six excellent billiard tables for common use. A library, games, a refreshment-counter, newspapers, a piano, and a stage for evening or holiday plays are also parts of this central meeting-place. A large space for gymnastic exercises, baths, games, etc., is given outside this building. Twenty years ago it was seen clearly by M. Harmel that to compete with the village bar-room, dance-house, and the great town or city they must have for their working men and women the amplest resources for amusement. The "sport-craving instinct" is therefore met with very rare intelligence. Bands, singing clubs, orchestras, various gymnastic groups, are given wide field for rivalry and competition, not alone among themselves, but also among such societies in neighboring towns. No ade-

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quate tribute, however, is paid to the skill and wisdom of the Harmels in dealing with this difficulty if we fail to add that the entire network of institutions is used as an instrument to create certain *habits*. It is clearly seen that permanent success depends upon the character of the laborer, upon his habits of mind and his way of looking at industrial functions. Supreme stress is therefore laid upon the training of the youth.

Division B is composed of boys under seventeen years. It began in 1872, with sixty-five members. The council meets each Monday evening under the direction of delegates from the teachers and associations of men. Here are discussed their diverse interests, games, gymnastics, music, and forest walks. If any sick are to be visited or other duties to be performed, arrangements are made and visitors chosen. Boys between seven and fourteen, Division C, meet in three sections weekly for instruction and amusement. Until the fourteenth year no child is allowed to work in any mill. Even above this age, until the seventeenth year, they must have an hour at school daily, an hour of religious instruction and a singing-lesson weekly. The mothers of families (D) meet Friday. Reports are given by the secretaries of the various groups. The larger section of two hundred and twenty women, married or widowed, has chiefly a religious aim. Smaller sections exist for helping the poor and visiting the sick. It is recognized that sickness, death, or too many children lays too heavy a burden on the family. Various forms of help are therefore organized, but upon principles so like those of our "associated charities" that it seemed to me, in talking to the directress, that she must have been a pupil of Octavia Hill. To the mother who bears the fourth child is given the *layette*, together with care and service for several weeks. To the young girl who saves for her *dot* a sum is given, up to one hundred francs, equal to her savings. Funds are raised for these purposes, partly by direct contributions of the Harmels and partly by profits from cooperative sales. Division E (girls from the fifteenth year to their marriage) is of unusual interest.

I have often watched this class in English, German, and American mills, but when, at nine o'clock in the morning, the members of this division came out for breakfast, it was as if I were looking upon a different race from any textile workers that I had ever seen. There was not only an unexpected neatness of appearance, with every sign of health and contentment, but, as compared at least with such European mills, an even more unexpected proof of moral dignity and self-respect that showed themselves by incontestable marks in face and bearing.

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This "final argument of a noble face" so struck me in looking at the workers everywhere about the mills that I was curious to see some portrait of the founder. In a hall of one of the Harmel homes was shown me the face in life size. It was so beautiful both in strength and gentleness as to win instant admiration. It was strikingly like the face of Faraday. A German friend will have it that it is likest Schopenhauer, only "the Schopenhauer when he has been two centuries in Heaven."

This woman's division has a practical school where sewing, the cutting and making of garments, household duties, with cooking, and the care of the health are taught. The attempt is now being made in Germany to admit women as apothecaries. Here I found a sister in entire charge of this department, which is constantly at the service of all both for instruction and in case of accidents. This school has weekly sessions and is free to all. Each girl from the sixteenth year must also pass through a period of actual practical service. This division falls into various sections for amusements, music, and "common service." For the last an ingenious scheme of "honors" obtains for the distinguishing of special excellences of conduct, work, or character. Division F includes girls from the thirteenth to the sixteenth year. The final division, G, is for girls from seven to thirteen or fourteen years. Both divisions are organized in groups for amusements and instruction of various kinds. With all these sections religious duties have much and constantly to do. A pretty church is within the business inclosure, where services are held each morning, though no compulsion is put upon the laborers. Schools are regularly conducted here also for all the children, though they are free to attend the communal school outside.

2. Corporative and economic institutions, under the direction of a council composed of seven employers and eight workmen chosen from their own numbers. This council meets monthly for the discussion of the economic interests of all the institutions. The functions of this council have such considerable importance as to require the entire time of a secretary. The council has to do with discipline, fines, accidents, apprenticeship, etc. It is fundamental that all these questions be settled as far as possible by the workingmen themselves. I have seen the state inspector perform his duties in a large German mill; but if measured either by efficiency or results, I doubt if the state method can compare favorably with this work as carried on almost wholly by the workmen themselves in the Harmel mills. The explanation is in the purpose of the employers to keep the ratio of accidents at the lowest.

I found in M. Harmel's office a library in which the best and most

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recent literature upon industrial accidents was kept. The results of the international congresses upon this subject are put at once before those whose duty it is to watch the machinery and study new methods of reducing risks. The question of fines, which causes such bitterness in many great industries, was so skilfully met as to remove all friction. Almost the entire responsibility of judging fines was thrown upon committees of workmen. The bookkeeper, to whom I had free access to inquire about wages, etc., showed me how inconsiderable the fines were, less than twelve dollars for the last year for the entire business. This money, moreover, goes to one of the funds for the insurance of the laborers, viz., the "*Société de Secours Mutuels*," which has between seven and eight hundred paying members. It is practically compulsory upon all that need its aid. From the fourteenth year men and women alike pay into a common fund, as do the employers, the laborers receiving the following advantages: (a) Doctor's care and medicines. The physician is at the mill each morning for free consultation. Upon his order free medicines and appliances are distributed by the woman at the pharmacy. Those ill at home receive their visit. (b) A portion of the wage is given during illness, and in case of accident a supplementary gift that can in no case be less than three hundred francs a year and may rise to seven hundred. (c) All burial expenses. (d) Any special case of hardship is voted a special allowance. In the budget for 1890 was a gift from the firm of one thousand francs for such purpose. There is a special committee chosen by the workmen and women to visit and look after the sick and to report regularly their condition and needs.

The "Cooperative Society" includes a bakery, meat market, and general store where all possible utilities are sold. All are free to buy in other places, but as a fact find it so distinctly to their advantage that practically all purchases are made at their own stores. Shoes are sold to the workpeople on which a four-and-a-half-per-cent interest is paid. Seven-eighths of the profits are divided among the purchasers in proportion to amounts bought. A solid reserve fund is now secure. The accounts, which I was privileged to see, showed an extraordinarily successful business. For young men without family a hostelry exists where room and board may be had at low figures.

It is a part of the policy of instruction, through lectures, etc., to teach the workmen to save their earnings. Every laborer is instructed as to the means of investment, the nature of interest, etc. I found that M. Harmel objected definitely to profit-sharing, his chief reason being that he did not like to expose his men and women to the possibilities

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of losses. Any arrangement that gave them percentages of business gains without participating in possible losses seemed to him bad business and poor charity. The savings bank seemed to him best and safest. The very unusual proportion of laborers that has been taught to economize is owing wholly to this policy of beginning with the child and creating the habit of thrift. There is a bank for the school children. "*Nous cherchons*," said M. Harmel, "*ainsi à donner dès le jeune âge l'habitude de l'epargne.*" There is also a special "*Caisse de Prévoyance*," the purpose of which is to furnish a pension to all who have worked thirty years and are no longer able to do full service. Another fund is devoted to loans to work-men.

3. The object of the "Society of Preservation" is moral and educational. Fêtes, excursions, reunions, lectures, and especially the spread of carefully selected papers and books, are under its control. It aims to give such variety of lively fun as shall compete with the morally dangerous amusements outside, and also to preserve the men and women from reading the literature of the "Gil Blas" and Zola type. For two papers it has nearly five hundred subscribers. There is a system of loaning these papers after they are read. It is perhaps unnecessary to describe other associations like choral societies, gymnastic and shooting clubs, dramatic and instrumental unions. Their purpose is, like the others, to give a full, rich, and happy life to the members, and thus to secure the harmony of the entire group. There also remain seven societies of a distinctly religious character, to some of which practically all belong. It must be said that a supreme significance is given the distinctively religious element in this entire economy. With every possible facility which perfect courtesy could offer me, and with an intercourse of several hours with one of the firm, the most vivid impression that was left upon my mind was that of a solid business ability behind all.

Such secret as there is in these rare successes is an open one. It is found first in the business ability of the Harmels and in their moral and religious consecration to that high aim of making not only a perfect business, but a perfect society. They are rich, but they live among their fellow-workers. Young Harmel, fresh from college studies in England, met me clothed like any of the workmen, and he did not make the mistake of apologizing for his appearance. He was serving, as all the firm must do, the entire apprenticeship from the humblest to the highest duties of the business. Neither the men nor women of the family spend time in Paris or summer resorts for their amusements. "Our scheme," it was said to me, "simply will not

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work unless we live our lives and find our pleasures here." I asked if the socialists had made any propaganda among them. "Yes, they have three times sent lecturers, but the two last were finally put out of the hall so roughly by the workmen that they have given it up." Private property in so many forms is spread among the workers, their instruction in industrial functions and in the nature of rent and interest has been so thorough, that the socialist dialect is wholly unintelligible to them and excites only their indignation.

Whatever may be thought of this influence upon the laborers, it is clear that the employers' gain is great. There has been no sign of unrest or dissatisfaction nor any hint of strikes. The very beginnings of trouble are met in joint committees, where any grievance is discussed. "Industrial peace" is one of their mottoes, and thus far it has controlled large and complicated relations without bitterness or serious complaint. The fierce struggle between employer and employed goes on hard by in Belgium and in scores of busy centres throughout France, while quiet and the kindliest feeling reign in this pleasant Val-des-Bois. The result is, under the conditions, as necessary as it is natural. Almost from childhood the workmen are taught certain ideas about private property. By theoretic precept, by wide practice and much example, they are fairly drilled into sympathy with that order of economic ideas which assumes a practical identity of interest between employer and employed. When the first socialist lecturer told them that interest on money was a form of theft and their employers spongers upon labor, he was met only by laughter. When he insisted more earnestly upon proving this, his speech was stopped by contemptuous shouts. It is safe to say that any set of men who had learned through self-sacrifice to save a modest sum upon which they drew interest, who owned a house a part of which they rented, or owned a patch of land, would in every instance have the same answer for the socialist. Any set of men the great majority of whom were linked through a dozen forms of self-interest to their business would in the same manner meet the strike-agitator.

I am not claiming that this is the most desirable of industrial relation nor that it could be copied or made to work under other conditions. It is, however, a matter of some wonder that those who control great businesses have been so careless of this powerfully conservative influence which comes from teaching and practising these property functions. Laborers that were early taught thrift and given easy and various opportunities of small investments would do more

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to make the employer's life worth living than all other means combined. If we except the cities and towns where labor is too fluctuating to make such disciplinary institutions possible, much of what is best in this success of the Harmels is wholly practicable. The chief employer here, M. Léon Harmel, is indeed now devoting his entire time to travelling about France for the express purpose of spreading these forms of organization. Two textile industries, one at Watten, the other in Tourcoing, are fairly at work on these lines. The largest owner in coal mines near Lyons, where eight thousand men are employed, has been for two years introducing these institutions among his men, with results that has called out a letter of personal gratitude to M. Harmel. The chief Catholic employers in the north of France have formed an association through M. Harmel's influence. A special trade book is published, also a periodical, "*Le Bulletin de l'Union.*" At the monthly meetings, not only the business issues are discussed, but regularly and systematically the new methods which make for industrial peace. This union is the means of spreading the abler literature upon the social question. There are several magazines and weeklies, like "*Le XXme. Siècle,*" "*Revue des Hommes d'Œuvre,*" "*Revue Catholique,*" etc., devoted to the discussion of social questions.

For the practical man the saying is a hard but at least a noble one, and in this case also crowned by the success which the business man respects. M. Harmel says: "The blunder of so many business leaders is in having two moralities, one for the private life and family, another for commerce and affairs. A perfect business will have the morality of the perfect family." However we may wag our heads at this, it remains probably strictly true that, given high-class business ability and the kind of entire consecration of a whole family to the end of making the lives of their workers strong in body and happy in mind, the results would not greatly differ from those of which we now speak. Nor would any one who saw the family doubt for an instant that its reward in gay, vigorous, and healthful life was real and secure. The words from a daughter of the house had, perhaps, more meaning in them than she knew. I asked her if she liked to stay in Paris. "No; even my best fun I find here among our own people." Her "own people" were not only her family, but also the working men and women, for whose weal she spent a portion of every day.

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS.

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THE CHURCHES AND LABOR UNIONS.

THE Committee on the Work of the Churches of the Massachusetts Congregational Association lately undertook to inquire whether industrial discontent had produced any effect upon the attitude of the workingmen in Massachusetts toward the churches. Inquiries were sent to clergymen and to representatives of labor societies. The inquiry made of the representatives of the labor societies was conducted under difficulties. Some organizations kept secret their existence and others kept secret certain local branches. Others permitted no list of local officials to be given out, because, as they explained, of the dread of the black list, or of the efforts to bribe or otherwise to compromise or demoralize these officials if they should become known. Of the two leading organizations, one withheld names, but the State officer was interested and himself circulated the inquiries; the other, after investigation, decided to trust the committee, and gave not only the names of local officers, but permission to use the name of the superior officer as an introduction. Circulars were therefore sent to some two hundred State and local labor leaders. In view of the fact that it was a printed circular, carrying no authority and offering no inducement to answer, addressed by a body of clergymen to men with small liking for the cloth, the proportion of answers is not disappointing. Moreover, that distrust was not overcome, even by the indorsement of State officers, is clear from the tone of some of the curt refusals to answer; and doubtless this explains the failure of many even to return the circular. Other brief responses manifested too much contempt for the authors of the circular to permit of specific replies.

The burden of the testimony from the churches is that while about 38 per cent of the population, chiefly native Americans, are habitual non-church-goers, industrial discontent, in their opinion, has had little to do with their failure to attend church. Seven or eight do think that the effect has been considerable and unfavorable, while fifteen make statements tending less strongly in the same direction, and seven or eight believe the effect to have been salutary. Some of these opinions are evidently the results of inference rather than of observation,

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and hence have less value, though some of them have an interest of their own. One, for instance, thinks the effect of industrial discontent has been unfavorable, because "discontent from any cause will usually have a bad effect upon the churches"; while another, who prefers to fish in troubled waters, declares that industrial discontent has had a good effect, because "discontented people are better to preach the Gospel to than those who have not life enough to quarrel with their lot." Against the twenty-two who report unfavorable effects and eight who report favorable, twenty-nine report little effect of any kind and two hundred and seventeen say that no effect whatever is discernible. Some deny the existence of other discontent than such as "is manufactured by unprincipled, loud-mouthed agitators"; and a few show either a real or an affected ignorance of the existence of such a thing as industrial discontent at all. Some of the two hundred and seventeen replies which give report of no effect of industrial discontent on church work come from non-industrial communities. But after making due allowance for these, it is still clear that a large majority of the representatives of the churches believe that industrial discontent has had little or no influence upon the attitude of the workingmen toward the churches.

With this testimony the testimony of the labor societies conflicts. The failure of many to return the circulars and the return of blank circulars by others might receive a partial interpretation in hostility. Some of the representatives of labor societies are non-committal or unintelligible. One reports that his society has instructed him not to reply. Some explain that they answer only as individuals. Others seem to report the result of discussions by their unions. Of classifiable replies, twelve see no effect, three believe that discontent has attracted men to the churches by increasing their intelligence and thoughtfulness, and thirty express a more or less pronounced opinion that laboringmen have been alienated from the churches. So far, these correspond with the report from the churches that most non-church-goers in industrial communities belong to the working class. The estimates as to the proportion of workingmen who are alienated from the churches average 48 per cent.

The suggestive declaration of certain recent investigators that the German Social Democrats, though hostile to official Christianity, are ready to avow themselves followers of Jesus, led to the question whether those who disbelieve in the churches also disbelieve in Jesus. With few exceptions the answers are that belief in Jesus is common;

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and this testimony is borne in many cases with much warmth. The disturbing influence of old New England theological controversies appears in efforts, usually awkward enough, so to qualify these answers as to avoid some suspected trap. The general tendency of these qualifications is to exalt Christ's humanity. The evident *animus*, however, is not theological, but sociological, a desire to emphasize His intimate interest in the order of this world rather than of the next. It is commonly said that if the churches and ministers would be faithful to Jesus, no alienation would exist.

The causes given of alienation are all modifications of the charge that churches and preachers are allied with and subservient to the "oppressing class." Employers who are leading church members are said to be as ready to oppress workmen as those who make no Christian profession at all, and illustrations are cited to prove that for some occult reason they are more ready. Church members are accused of being first and most merciless in cutting down the wages of helpless girls while maintaining their own salaries and dividends. A report is made of one employer who gave largely and with much applause to the building of a church, and then deducted the cost of it from the wages of his help. And such men as these are the pillars of the churches, occupy the chief seats, fill the highest offices, impart to them their tone, and welcome the workingman if he comes as a beneficiary, which his self-respect resents.

When lockouts and strikes occur, the churches side with the employer, deride labor organizations and throw the weight of their influence against them. Seldom is the Church just enough even to be neutral. It is a "mammonized" institution; it belongs to the plutocrats, and gives disgusting exhibition of its servility when it grovels at the feet of a public robber until he throws it in contempt a few thousands out of his ill-gotten millions. The clergy have either been so narrowly miseducated as to be unable to appreciate the justice of the cause of labor, or they are too cowardly to champion it. It is declared in these replies that when Church and clergy attempt to touch in a timid way the questions which are at the bottom of industrial discontent, they are so wedded to the established order and so fearful of the impending revolution that their ingenuity is chiefly exercised in evading the point; that they are determined to go no farther than alleviation, and to preach charity as a sop to discontent rather than justice as a cure.

One correspondent writes that he is "an interested spectator, watching to see whether the churches will continue to teach patience to the

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poor and charity to the rich, the doctrine of the Pope's encyclical, that whatever is is to be cheerfully and uncomplainingly borne without effort to change existing conditions"; and he adds: "The cry for justice cannot be met by doling out charity." It is contended that the effect of long hours and low wages and uncertainty of continued employment is to dishearten and to alienate the workingman. One reports that in his trade "the hours are twelve daily, with sixteen Saturday and six Sunday morning," and that the effect is so depressing that 99 per cent of the members of his union have given up faith in the churches. Such men, it is said, are "discouraged in the hope that there is anything better in the world to come, as the rogues appear to get the most of this world's goods."

Only two or three take the opposite ground, and affirm that on the whole the churches have stood by the laborer and assisted him in bettering his condition, and that he appreciates it; and that as he becomes more intelligent and independent he is better able to see the value of the Gospel. One illustrates this by telling how a contemplated reduction of wages was met by a sermon from a prominent pastor, who menaced with public scorn the men who should reduce wages without touching their own salaries or dividends, and they dared not meet the issue thus raised.

The tone of the foregoing replies will suggest to many minds the question, "Do not these reports from the labor societies reflect stock ideas and opinions disseminated by the literature of the organizations?" The answer is that to one somewhat acquainted with the literature of the labor movement the ideas and even the phraseology have a familiar appearance, partly because they come from the authors and editors of that literature, and partly, doubtless, because they come from its readers. But in justice the parallel fact should be stated that to one familiar with the stock religious notions and phraseology of the day, the reports from the churches present an exactly similar phenomenon. The trail of the editor and popular phrase-maker is over them all.

It cannot be denied that the reports from both sources betray a lamentable inability to see more than one side at a time. The unions not only accuse the churches of hostile partisanship, but do it in a tone which seems to demand nothing short of partisanship in turn. Where churches or preachers are commended, it is not for impartiality, but for some active support of the unions. It is to be remembered as a palliating circumstance that these leaders of an aggressive and maligned movement are naturally put into the position of special

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pleaders, however broad or unselfish their original motives may have been. Enthusiasts in a cause can seldom concede the bounty of those who doubt the righteousness both of the cause and of all measures advocated to further it. Many prohibitionists, for instance, can scarcely forgive the churches for declining to become political organizations. It is less pardonable that the representatives of the churches, which presumably abound in charity and fair-mindedness, should be so indisposed as they are to lay upon the churches themselves a share of the responsibility for non-church-going habits. The Massachusetts Congregational churches, through their representatives who made these reports, have forfeited the right to charge one-sidedness to the labor unions.

It cannot be said that these inquiries have done much more than to open the subject of the attitude of the workingmen toward the churches. It has brought to light these two sets of opinions, but the variety of causes which contribute to the formation and diffusion of opinions and their often slender support of fact are not to be forgotten. No workable formula has been invented for sifting facts from opinions in this investigation. Moreover, the value of the investigation is not to be overestimated as a consensus of opinions. It may not be assumed that the opinions of the official representatives of the churches and of the unions fairly represent the opinions of the unofficial membership of either. The reports from the churches come mainly from preachers, a few from deacons; and the bias of the clerical mind is notorious and is partially shared by lay officials. In like manner the labor leaders are believed by many to be a lot of "professionals" who have a class bias of their own, and who are as distinct from the lay membership of the unions as the clergy are distant from and unrepresentative of the laymen in the churches. If this be so, it is a defect in the labor organizations as bad as the corresponding defect in the ecclesiastical organizations.

Granting the possibly unrepresentative character of the reporters and that they report opinions rather than facts, the minimum result of the investigation is two sets of opinion—from the leaders of the churches and from the leaders of the unions—and these are contradictory. The leaders of the churches confess that they have no hold upon about 38 per cent of the population, largely workingmen; but they deny any relation of cause and effect between this and industrial discontent. The leaders of the unions assert that 48 per cent of the workingmen—including many who attend church from habit or to

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please their families—disbelieve in the churches; and they attribute it to the present discontent and the place which the Church occupies concerning the questions which underlie it. Now, whatever the facts may be concerning which this difference of opinion exists, and however ignorant the leaders on both sides may be of the private opinions of their lay followers, the existence of such a difference of opinion between the two sets of leaders is itself a fact of no insignificant proportions; for neither of the two bodies of men who thus disagree is without its importance, and their continued disagreement upon this question cannot be a matter of indifference to the public.

JOHN P. COYLE.

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WHY WE HAVE SO FEW GOOD ROADS.

A COMMON purse for a common purpose seems to be a necessity of modern municipal government. The individual citizen contributes to the purse in order that he may share in the benefits to be derived from the execution of the purpose. He surrenders the right to spend his own money and to enjoy the results of this expenditure, in order to spend the money of other people as well as his own and secure greater results. The right to tax is based theoretically upon the return to the taxpayer of more and better results than he can secure by the expenditure of his own money in his own way; hence the argument for the contribution to the common fund. The purse is usually easily filled by taxation. The purpose is generally more or less clearly defined and understood, but the income of the purse and the outcome of the purpose are by no means commensurate.

Between these two points there is, in ordinary municipal government, a sad shortage. It may be the fault of the laws which provide for the expenditure of money raised by municipal taxation; it may be that there is inherent weakness in the organization of the machinery which is used to secure results; or it may be, when law and machinery are both satisfactory, that incompetent or dishonest agents administer the one and manipulate the other. Whatever the cause, it is undoubtedly true that in the ordinary application of the purse to the purpose there is a sad failure, and the contributor to the purse fails to receive what is his due as a citizen in the results flowing from the attempt to execute the purpose. This is true of the revenue raised by taxation for all specific objects in a given municipality; it is especially true and noticeable in regard to the moneys raised for and the labor expended upon the ordinary public roads of America.

There is undeniably a felt want in the community for better public highways. The subject is now generally agitated. It has been presented by the chief executive officers of a dozen different States to the attention of their several legislatures. It has received intelligent and careful consideration at the hands of commissions, of experts specially appointed for the purpose, of committees of several of our

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legislatures, and of the legislatures themselves. It must be confessed—in spite of all that has been said, of all the study that has been given to the subject, and of all the effort to reach practical conclusions—that nothing generally satisfactory has as yet been attained. The main difficulty in the case is perhaps to be found, not in the inherent defects of present laws or in the inability of legislators to make better ones, but in the indifference of the general public upon the subject.

Unless general interest can be awakened, such an interest as will demand from those who make and those who execute the laws such legislation and such administration as will secure different and better results, these results are not likely to be secured, and there is little prospect of an improvement of present conditions. It is perhaps scarcely fair to say that there is complete indifference upon the subject. Most people are interested in securing a better condition of the common roads of the country for their own convenience and pleasure. But the disposition to antagonize a forward movement in this respect, or to retard an intelligent and comprehensive administration of present laws, is based, perhaps, upon the fear of the amount of money necessary to be expended in securing, in the first instance, a thoroughly good road. In all discussions of the subject, this seems to be the final resort of those who oppose improvements upon the present system.

Using Pennsylvania as an illustration, because I am more familiar with the details of management of its local municipal affairs, we have in every municipality three specific taxes—the school tax, the poor tax, and the road tax. Few of the citizens of any given municipality are directly interested in the poor tax. Its imposition is based upon the supposed duty of the community to care for its own citizens; and so the many care for the few, because it is both inhuman and impolitic to allow any member of the community to suffer. Society is interested in securing the return of those who are unfortunate and mere consumers of the wealth of the community to self-support and to the condition of producers.

We cheerfully pay the taxes levied for the support of our schools, not because we are personally or even directly interested in the results—for in many cases those make the largest contribution to the school fund who have the least direct interest in the institution which is thereby supported—but because society in general is interested in seeing that every member of it is educated and fitted for an intelligent

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and faithful discharge of the duties of citizenship. In both of these cases we expend large amounts of money for purposes other than those which directly affect the classes interested. We build our county homes, our hospitals for the insane poor and for those who are injured and unable to care for themselves, at an immense expenditure of money, not only that greater comfort may be secured for those who are directly interested in them, but that these increased comforts may be secured at a less cost than can be otherwise had. It is undeniably true that a very large amount of the money expended in our public-school buildings is to raise monuments to municipal pride and local rivalry rather than simply to secure the accommodations absolutely necessary for securing the best results in our schools. In these cases where the contributors to the purse are in many instances not directly interested in the results of the purpose, the community which fails to tax its citizens for comfortable county homes, expensive and thoroughly equipped hospitals and asylums for the insane and the injured, and imposing school buildings for the education of the young, is regarded as lacking in progress and in the commonest elements of humanity. All this has arisen because of a public sentiment which demands such expenditures of the public purse.

Out of the poor purse the many support the few. Out of the school purse those who have children and those who have none alike make their contribution for the education of the young. When we come to the road purse, in the expenditure of which every member of society—young and old, male and female, stalwart and decrepit—is personally interested, our policy and practice change entirely. We utterly refuse to make such investments for substantial and enduring foundations as are made out of both poor and school funds. We are satisfied with, or, if not satisfied with, endure, the system, or lack of system, under which our forefathers blazed their roads through the primitive forests, and made their contribution to their maintenance by a few days' work in each year, which caused them to be more impassable than they were the year before.

Every member of society is interested in the public road. At birth, at death, and at all intermediate points during life it is used, to a greater or less degree, by or for every individual member of society. It carries the doctor to the bedside of the sick, the minister to administer consolation to the dying, friends to the house of mourning, and the dead to their graves. It brings purchaser and consumer together. It is the avenue alike of pleasure and of traffic. The farmer seeking

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his market, the commercial traveller looking for customers, the millionaire in search of enjoyment with his coach-and-four, the wheelman in pursuit of health, the few seeking pleasure or profit on wheels, and the many in like pursuits on foot—all are interested in the public road. And yet, direct and immediate as these interests are, we are content to follow the methods of half a century or more ago, to submit to inconvenience, to discomfort, and to the immense waste of money and patience; not because we do not admit the advantages of a good road over a bad one; not because we cannot see, in theory at least, that a solid, smooth, level road which allows the farmer to convey to market twice as much with half the power is advantageous to him; not because it cannot be clearly demonstrated that in the end (because of the saving in annual repairs and the saving of waste in vehicles, horseflesh, harness, and the like) a good road is cheaper than a poor one—for all these things are distinctly and fully admitted by those who have given careful study to the subject—but because prejudice, opposition to change, and indifference control the masses of our people and dictate the course of legislation.

In the discussion of the road question, one of the most popular and oft-quoted remarks is that relating to the evidence of the civilization of a country which its roads exhibit. It is not a question of civilization, however, and we have not yet reached the point when we can fairly view it from the æsthetic side. It is a question of the simplest, commonest, most practical business sense. It reaches the everyday life of every man, woman, and child in every community. Those of us who advocate a reform in the mode of laying out, constructing, and repairing our public roads must show, and are responsible for showing, to our people that their direct and immediate pecuniary interests are involved, and will be subserved by a radical change in every department of road management.

It is asserted by some that the multiplication of our railroads takes away, to a great extent, the necessity for an improvement in the common roads of the country. The very opposite of this is true. Our railroads reach only the centres of population and traffic. Those who can reach these great avenues of travel only by a drive or a walk of five to ten miles for business, for pleasure, or for trade, should be able to do so in comfort, with celerity, with economy, and with some degree of certainty. Our railroads have multiplied those who travel for pleasure and for business and the traffic transported from the country to the great centres of trade a hundred-fold within the

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last fifty years. It is a matter of intense practical moment to the farmer to know that he can reach the railroad-station, ten miles distant, in one hour rather than in three hours, and that he can transport two tons of his farm products with two horses more cheaply and in every way more satisfactorily than one ton with four horses; and yet this striking contrast measures the difference between what can be done over a good road in all seasons of the year, and what it is possible to do over our ordinary roads in certain seasons when the conditions are unfavorable.

The present condition of our roads and the palpable defects in their location and construction are usually laid to faulty or deficient laws upon the subject. There may be vast improvement without material change in present legislation; but if we are to secure the best results, it is undoubtedly true that we must change the laws enacted fifty or one hundred years ago so as to meet present needs and conditions. One of the difficulties in securing a change in our present laws is found in the importance of the subject, which has attracted so much attention that many of our law-makers have plans and codes of their own which they are unwilling to exchange for those of another. Any simple plan which will secure the location of a road by a competent engineer and its construction by a man who is familiar with the principles of road-making, and is able to give to the community one hundred cents of value for every dollar expended, will reach the results at present desirable and attainable.

With us in Pennsylvania, the fundamental defect in our law is the right which is given to the taxpayer to "work out his road tax." The result of this system is that repairs are made when they are least needed, and the smallest amount of work for the largest amount of pay possible is secured. The ordinary mode of operations is to plough up the sides of the road in the spring, throw the dirt thus loosened into the centre, and allow the rains and travel to force it back in the remainder of the season, so as to be available for the same purpose the next year. Some one, commenting upon this mode of road-making, has well said that we might as well construct our roads with ice in midwinter and expect to secure substantial results as to follow this absurd and unsatisfactory practice.

In general, our roads are located by those who have no enlarged experience in engineering, and who prefer to accommodate their neighbors by following the property lines between them, or making the road near or distant as may suit their convenience, rather than to

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consult the general good of the public. Those who must use our common roads for heavy hauling do not seem to understand that the size of the load which they can transport to market is measured, not by the nine miles and three-quarters of level road which separates them from their destination, but by the other quarter which is hilly. We must have, first of all, therefore, in the construction of our roads, a good location; we must next have a solid foundation. As to the remainder, the Scripture injunction of the great prophet applies with as much force to-day as nearly three thousand years ago, when it was uttered: "Cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones."

If the objection be made that such a location and such construction of our roads will involve the expenditure of a large amount of money, the answer is, "Yes, but it is just such an expenditure as any prudent business man would make in his business in order to secure permanency, and satisfactory results in management, and economy in future repair." It may, and probably will, be necessary for the friends of road reform to content themselves with securing a slight amendment of our present road laws, rather than to attempt to secure the enactment of a perfect system which would revolutionize present conditions. Systems which have grown up in any given community through fifty years or more of every-day use and practice are not easily overturned. We must recognize the strength of the sentiment which gathers about them, and must not rudely shock that sentiment by an attempt to secure a complete overthrow of the so-called system. If in Pennsylvania and elsewhere where the system of working out the road tax prevails we could secure a simple amendment which would compel all taxes for road purposes to be paid in money, as other taxes are paid, and if that money tax were expended in each municipality by one man of good common sense, we could in a very few years prepare our people for another step forward. If investments such as are made out of our poor and school funds for permanent improvements were put into the foundations of our roads, the returns would be much greater, more direct, and more satisfying.

It is not impossible for us to hope for some improvement, even under our present unsatisfactory laws, in certain favored localities and under exceptional conditions. An example or two which will appeal to the readers of the FORUM will best convey the impression desired to be made. Mr. A. J. Cassett, whose country residence is in Montgomery County, adjoining Philadelphia, well known in railroad and business circles and in the community at large as an engineer of brill-

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iant attainments and as a railroad manager of large and varied experience, and who is also a lover and breeder of fine horses, was, a few years ago, elected—probably partly as a joke and partly in the hope of securing the benefit of his knowledge and experience—a road-supervisor for the township in which he lived. To the surprise of many he accepted the position, levied the largest amount of tax allowed under the law, summoned his neighbors and secured voluntary contributions from those who were interested like himself in good roads for driving purposes, and as a result, during his official term secured for that township the best common roads in Pennsylvania. Another gentleman in one of the suburbs of Philadelphia, anxious to benefit his kind and to secure for his neighbors the greatest comfort and convenience in every-day life, located, laid out, and built at his own expense some two miles of model public road which he presented to the municipality in which he lived. These two practical examples furnished by busy business men are suggestive of what can be done, even under existing circumstances and discouraging legal surroundings.

As to the practical results arising from the improvements just referred to, there have been undoubted enhancement of the value of real estate, an influx of desirable population, and the largest possible increase to the comfort and convenience of all the people of those regions who make use of these roads. If a good road, thoroughly constructed, will endure for a thousand years, with ordinary repairs, what better monument can a man who wishes to benefit his kind raise to his memory, how can he contribute to the welfare of his fellows more fully and for a longer period, and how better perpetuate his memory than by following the example of the gentleman last mentioned, and by giving his own name to the road thus constructed? I know of no law which prevents the enterprising citizen from building or repairing the roads in front of his own property, and there would be undoubted acquiescence on the part of the public in work of this kind. Is it not possible, therefore, for a single enterprising citizen in any given community to show by a practical illustration, at his own expense, the difference between a good road, properly constructed, and those which are ordinarily travelled in our country communities; and will not such an illustration be productive of better practical results than any amount of argument or effort to secure better laws?

JAMES A. BEAVER.

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PHONOGRAPHIC STUDIES OF SPEECH.

THE application of the phonograph to my special work is really the discovery of a new field of usefulness for that wonderful instrument, which, up to this time, has held the place of a toy more than that of a scientific apparatus of the very highest importance in the study of acoustics and philology. In many ways the use of this machine is so hampered by the avarice of men as to lessen its value as an aid to scientific research, and the letters patent under which it is protected preclude all competition and prevent improvements. However, I have been able, even with the poor machines in general use, to discover some of the most important facts upon which are based the laws of phonation. I shall here attempt to give in detail but a few of these experiments, as they are yet crude and in some cases the deductions therefrom not positively certain.

From the records that I have made of the voices of men and monkeys, I am prepared to say that the difference is not so great as is commonly supposed, and that I have converted each into the other. I would not be understood to say that I have done this with all their sounds, nor that the monkey's sounds were converted into human speech, but the fundamental sounds of each were changed into those of the other. I find that human laughter coincides in nearly every point with that of monkeys; it differs in volume and pitch. By the aid of the phonograph I have been able to analyze the vowel sounds of human speech, which I find to be compound; some of them contain as many as three distinct syllables of unlike sounds. From the vowel basis I have succeeded in developing certain consonant elements, both initial and final, from which I have deduced the belief that the most complex sounds of consonants are developed from the simple vowel basis, somewhat as chemical compounds result from the union of simple elements. Without describing in detail the results, I shall mention some simple experiments which have given me some very strange phenomena.

I dictate to the phonograph a vowel in different keys while the cylinder rotates at a given rate of speed. I then adjust the speed to

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a certain higher or lower rate and follow the results. By reversing the motion of the cylinder the sounds are reduced to their fundamental state. By this means I eliminate all familiar intonation and disassociate it from any meaning which will sway the mind, and in this way it can be studied to advantage. At a given rate of speed I have taken the record of certain sounds made by a monkey, and by reducing the rate of speed from two hundred revolutions per minute to forty, it can be seen that I increased the intervals between what is called the sound-waves and magnified the wave itself fivefold, at the same time reducing the pitch in like degree, and by this means I could detect the slightest shades of modulation. I may remind you here that in this process all parts of the sound are magnified alike in all directions, so that instead of obtaining five times the length, as it were, of the sound unit or interval, we obtain the cube of five times the normal length of every unit of the sound. The slightest variation of tension in the vocal chords may be detected, and every part of the sound compared to every other part.

Having thus augmented the quantity of sound by increasing alike the sound unit and interval, it can be recorded on another cylinder and multiplied again as long as the vibrations can produce sound. From the constant relation of parts and their uniform augmentation under this treatment, it has suggested to my mind the idea that all sounds have definite geometrical outlines; and as we change the magnitude without changing the form of the sound, I shall describe this constancy of form by the term "contour." In a few instances I have been able, by reducing the record of certain sounds from a high pitch to a lower one, to imitate the sound thus reduced with my own vocal organs; then by restoring this record of my voice to its normal speed, have obtained almost a perfect imitation of the sound. This effect, however, does not always follow, and in many instances my best imitations have not developed the original at all. But this presents a new problem in acoustics. I must here take occasion to say that the difference of pitch, quality, etc., in sounds does not appear to me to depend alone upon the length of the sound-unit, but there seems to be a difference of ultimate form and mode of propagation which has much to do with the contour of the developed sound.

By "mode of propagation" I mean the organs brought into use for the purpose of producing the sound, the apertures through which the sound-force passes, and the auxiliaries by which it is moulded into certain shapes. By "ultimate form" I mean the geometrical shape

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of the sound-force when first converted into sound. That there is such a thing as form has been clearly demonstrated by the phoneidoscope. Prof. John B. de Mott has very kindly aided me in reducing certain sounds to a visible condition. I had conceived an idea, before this, that if the path described by the energy which produced sound could be made visible, it would be found to have the form of a convolute spiral; that the spirals receded from the centre or point of propagation in every direction like the radii of a sphere; and that the aspect of sound which we call waves was simply the point at which these spirals intercepted each other, which of necessity would be of uniform distance from the centre, increasing at each successive point throughout the entire sound-sphere, or space through which the sound passes, in all directions from the centre to infinity.

I shall refrain from further discussing this point till such a time as I can show at greater length my reasons for this belief. I may add here that I have made records of the human voice with which I have deceived monkeys, and I have made records of monkeys' voices with which I have deceived the very elect of linguists and musicians. Some critic once remarked to me that the sound made by a monkey was not really laughter, but only a kind of good-natured growling. This may be correct, but the same is true of human laughter, as the one may be converted into the other, and a good-natured growl expresses the emotion which is felt by man as well as by monkey. The phonograph shows that they are identical in sound and form, besides the fact that they are the outburst of the same passion, actuated by the same cause, and executed by the same muscles, so that their identity mentally, physically, and mechanically is the same. Among the sounds of the simian voice I have not found the English vowels "a," "i," or "o," except perhaps "i" short, as sounded in the word "it." The vowel "u," as sounded like "oo" in "shoot," seems to be the chief sound of their speech.

One important point which I discovered is that purely musical sounds or tones are reproduced alike with the cylinder turning either way, while all speech sounds are slightly changed when the cylinder is reversed, which shows the sounds to be compound. I find that "w" may be developed from any consonant by manipulating the cylinder of the phonograph, and it is a fact also that the initial consonant imparted to any vowel does not continue through the vowel. This I have shown by making a vowel sound which I prolong for some seconds with the cylinder revolving at a given rate of speed. While repro-

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ducing this at a normal speed, I intercept it at any point and develop the sound "w" as heard in "woe." The instant I have blended this into the vowel I lift the diaphragm until the normal speed is restored, when I replace the reproducing tooth, showing the sound without the consonant. In like manner I dictate to the phonograph any vowel sound preceded by a consonant. The consonant I utter in a natural way, the vowel I prolong for some seconds; and in the act of reproducing this I cut the sound in two, and find the vowel element is not modified by the consonant which preceded it. Hence I observe that the consonant merely suggests to the mind a certain form of sound which does not change the fundamental vowel. In fact, it aids the voice somewhat in uttering the vowel.

If human speech were composed of none but vowel sounds, the human voice could scarcely utter them in a continued conversation; their monotony would not so much offend the ear as it would try the vocal powers, and man would soon acquire consonants to aid the voice, if for no other use. Among the simians the better types of speech show this tendency, and in the lower types of human speech we find all the vowel elements, while consonants are not by any means so numerous. Another fact is this: among the lower races of mankind double consonants are rare and treble more so. Of course their tongues consist of fewer words, as has been shown before, which paucity arises from their few wants and simple modes of life, and hence the scope of vocal growth is much contracted. Beginning with the lowest tribes of men, we find the consonants increase in number and complexity as we ascend the scale of speech. To this, perhaps, is due the fact that the negroes now found in the United States, after a sojourn of two hundred years with the white race on this continent, are unable to utter the sounds of "th," "thr," and other double consonants. The former of these they pronounce "d" if breathing and "t" if aspirate. The latter they pronounce like "trw" or "tww." The sound of "v" they usually pronounce "b," while "r" resembles "w" or "rw" when initial, but as a final sound is usually suppressed. They have a marked tendency to omit auxiliary and final sounds, and in all departures from the higher types of speech tend back to ancestral forms. I believe that if we could apply the rule of perspectives and throw our vanishing-point far back beyond the chasm that separates man from his simian prototype, we should find one unbroken outline tangent to every circle of life from man to protozoa, in language, mind, and matter.

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One of the very curious feats which I have performed with the phonograph is the conversion of the human voice into the sounds of various instruments. I had my wife sing the familiar Scotch ballad "Comin' Through the Rye" to the phonograph while the cylinder was rotating at the rate of about forty revolutions per minute. Each word in the song was distinctly pronounced and the music rendered in a plain, smooth tone. I then increased the speed of the machine to about one hundred and twenty per minute, at which rate I reproduced the song. It was a very perfect imitation of the bag-pipe, with no sign whatever of articulation. The melody was preserved, with only a change of time. The speech character was so completely destroyed that I repeated this record to a large audience in which were several eminent musicians, not one of whom suspected that it was not a real bag-pipe solo. In like manner I have converted the sounds of the voice into a very perfect piccolo, flute, fife, as well as a fairly good imitation of a whistle sound. To produce the whistling effect and the fife sound the rate of speed must necessarily be very high, and some notes will not be perfectly converted, for some reason which I have not yet fully understood. Some voices are much more easily converted into the flute effect than others. To get the best flute sounds a full, smooth mezzo-soprano gives the best effect. In reversing the operation the sounds of these instruments can be made to imitate the human voice somewhat, but not exactly; not only in the fact that the modulation is wanting and there is no semblance to consonant sounds, but the tone itself differs in quality from that of the voice.

Among other respects in which the vocal sounds of man and simian resemble is the contour of the sounds, which I have already defined. I have called attention to the fact that by reversing the cylinder of the phonograph and repeating the sound recorded thereon a musical note or sound would repeat alike each way. Most of the sounds made by other animals do this, but those made by man and simian alike show modulation, not, however, equally distinct. The notes of birds repeat alike both ways, except that their order is reversed. Again, to magnify the sounds as I have shown can be done allows you to inspect them, as it were, under the microscope, and this examination shows a resemblance between the contours of the sounds of these two genera.

Dr. Alexander Melville Bell has shown, in his work on "Visible Speech," that the organs brought into use in the production and modification of sounds must work in harmony with each other. Hence it

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is that by a study of the external forms of the mouth the movements of all the organs used in making any sound can be determined with such certainty that deaf-mutes can be and have been successfully taught to distinguish these sounds by the eye alone. And it was by such a method that I set out to read the temple inscriptions from the ruins of Palenque some years ago, at a time when I had not heard of Dr. Bell's learned and excellent work. The main feature of those glyphs by which I was guided was the outline of the mouth, which the artist had sought to preserve and emphasize at the cost of every other feature, and by this process I found, to my satisfaction, some ten or twelve sounds or phonetic elements of the speech used by these people. Not knowing the meaning of the sounds in that lost tongue, I did not attempt to verify them; but when I find the time to devote to them I believe I can accomplish that. It is a part of my purpose in my trip to Africa to try to secure photographs of the mouths of the great apes while they are in the act of talking, and to this end I am having constructed an electric trigger with which to operate my photo camera at long range, and I shall try to furnish to the eminent author of "Visible Speech" some new and novel subjects for study.

I shall take occasion here to mention some curious experiments which have suggested themselves to me in my work with the phonograph. For lack of time and opportunity I have not carried them far enough to give exact and final results, but it has occurred to me that philology may be aided by taking a record of the sounds made by a number of children daily through a period of two or three years from birth. The few experiments which I have tried in this particular line are sufficient to show that the growth of speech obeys certain laws in the development of vocal power. It is apparent to me that the first sounds uttered by children have no consonants, and that certain consonants always appear in a regular succession and always single. The double consonants develop later and the triple consonants appear to be the last acquirement. I have not the space to go to great length on this subject, and my experiments have not been sufficient to enable me to formulate with certainty any set of rules by which the development of this faculty is uniformly governed.

It is my purpose on my return from Africa to set on foot a series of such experiments with the hope of ascertaining the facts connected therewith. And while in Africa I shall aim to make such records of the natives as to ascertain whether their speech conforms to the same

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laws of development or not. It is my earnest hope to be able to do the same thing with the great apes which I am going chiefly to study. If I can record on a phonograph cylinder the sounds uttered by a young chimpanzee under certain conditions once each day for a year or so, I think I can determine whether there is a like growth in their speech and to what extent the same laws control it. I have already observed that the quality of voice in a given species of monkey changes with his age, very much in the same manner as the human voice; but I have not been able to follow the changes through one specimen by which to ascertain the exact manner of such change.

The sounds of birds have been studied perhaps more than any others except those of men, but they have not been studied as speech nor to ascertain their meanings. Their musical character has attracted attention and has been the subject of some discussion. My opinion is that much that has been said on that subject belongs more properly to the realm of poetry than of science. I think the sounds of birds are chiefly intended for speech, but they may supply the place of music in their æsthetic being; but so far as I have observed, I confess that I cannot find that they obey the laws of harmony, melody, or time, and it is my opinion that most of the efforts to write the sounds of birds on a musical staff are not to be relied upon as accurate records of the sounds. There is no doubt that each sound uttered by a bird is in unison with some note in the chromatic scale of music, but the intervals between the tones of the same bird do not coincide with those of the human voice. It is quite evident that birds possess an acute sense and ready faculty for music, and many of them show great aptitude in imitating the sounds of musical instruments; some varieties of birds, such as the Southern mocking-bird, the thrush, and others, imitate with great success the sounds of these birds. They often do this so perfectly as to deceive the species to which the sounds belong. The songs of birds, as they are called, appear to afford them great pleasure, and they often indulge in them, I think, as a pastime; the effect is pleasing to the ear because of its cheerfulness, and it is not discordant or wanting in richness of tone in most birds. From the little study I have given them, I think it safe to say that the range of sounds possessed by any one bird is quite limited, and its notes are strictly monophones. This last remark does not apply to the sounds made by parrots and birds of that kind.

The parrot is perhaps possessed of the greatest vocal power of any other bird. He imitates almost the entire range of sounds that are ut-

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tered by all other birds combined, and can also imitate the sounds of human speech from the highest to the lowest pitch of the human voice. In addition to all this he imitates many noises, such as the sounds of sawing wood, the slam of a door, and the whistling of the wind. One strange thing, however, which I observed among them is that the range of sounds that they use among themselves is very small. I have made some records of parrots, macaws, cockatoos, etc., and I find their natural vocal sounds usually wanting in quality; most of their sounds are hoarse and guttural. Among the gallinaceous birds there does not appear to be much music. There is a great sameness of sounds in the different species, and they seem to be confined to the economic use of speech.

As a result of my experience with monkeys, I shall here sum up the chief points in which their speech coincides with that of man, and note those features which distinctly characterize the sounds as a form of speech. The sounds which monkeys make are voluntary, deliberate, and articulate. They are always addressed to some certain individual, with the evident purpose of having them understood. The monkeys indicate, by their own acts and the manner of delivery, that they are conscious of the meaning which they desire to convey through the medium of the sounds. They wait for and expect an answer, and if they do not receive one they frequently repeat the sounds. They usually look at the person addressed, and do not utter these sounds when alone or as a mere pastime, but only at such times as some one is present to hear them, either some person or another monkey. They understand the sounds made by other monkeys of their own kind, and usually respond to them with a like sound. They understand these sounds when imitated by a human being, by a whistle, a phonograph, or other mechanical device, and this indicates that they are guided by the sounds alone, and not by any signs, gestures, or psychic influence. The same sound is interpreted to mean the same thing and obeyed in the same manner by different monkeys of the same species. Different sounds are accompanied by different gestures and produce different results under the same conditions.

They make their sounds with the vocal organs and modulate them with the teeth, tongue, and lips, in the same manner that man controls his vocal sounds. The fundamental sounds appear to be pure vowels, but faint traces of consonants are found in many words, especially those of low pitch; and since I have been able to develop certain consonant sounds from a vowel basis, the conclusion forces

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itself upon me that the consonant elements of human speech are developed from a vowel basis. This opinion is further confirmed by the fact that the sounds produced by the types of the animal kingdom lower than the monkey appear to be more like the sounds of pipe instruments; and as we rise in the scale, the vocal organs appear to become somewhat more complex and capable of varying their sounds so as to give the effect of consonants, which much extends the vocal scope.

The present state of the speech of monkeys appears to have been reached by development from a lower form. Each race or kind of monkey has its own peculiar tongue, slightly shaded into dialects, and the radical sounds do not appear to have the same meaning in different tongues. The phonetic character of their speech is equally as high as that of children in a like state of mental development, and seems to obey the same laws of phonetic growth, change, and decay as human speech. It appears to me that their speech is capable of communicating the ideas which they are capable of conceiving, and, measured by their mental, moral, and social status, is as well developed as the speech of man measured by the same units. Strange monkeys of the same species seem to understand each other at sight, whereas two monkeys of different species do not understand each other until they have been together for some time. Each learns to understand the speech of the other, but as a rule he does not try to speak it. When he deigns an answer it is usually in his own tongue. The more fixed and pronounced the social and gregarious instincts are in any species, the higher the type of its speech. They often utter certain sounds under certain conditions in a whisper, which indicates that they are conscious of the effect which will result from the use of speech. Monkeys reason from cause to effect, communicate to others the conclusion deduced therefrom, and act in accordance therewith. If their sounds convey a fixed idea on a given subject from one mind to another, what more does human speech accomplish? If one sound communicates that idea clearly, what more could volumes do? If their sounds discharge all the functions of speech, in what respect are they not speech?

It is as reasonable to attribute meaning to their sounds as to attribute motives to their actions; and the fact that they ascribe a meaning to the sounds of human speech would show that they are aware that ideas can be conveyed by sounds. If they can interpret certain sounds of human speech, they can ascribe a meaning to their own. They think that speech is but the natural exponent of thought. It is the

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audible expression of thought and signs are the visible expression of the same; it is born of the same cause, acts to the same end, and discharges the same functions in the economy of life. To reason is to think methodically; and if it be true that man cannot think without words, the same must be true of monkeys. I do not mean, however, to claim that such is a fact with regard to man thinking, but if such can be shown to be a fact, it will decide the question as to the invention of human speech; as it was necessary for man to think in order to invent, and, by the rule, he could not think a word which did not exist, and therefore could not have invented it. But I beg to be allowed to stand aside and let Prof. Max Müller and Professor Whitney, the giants of comparative philology, settle this question between themselves, and I shall abide by the verdict which may be finally reached. But theories are useless when the facts are known; and since I have actually learned from a monkey a certain sound having a certain value and meaning a certain thing, and by repeating that sound to a monkey of the same species have met with uniform results, have understood him and been understood by him, no argument could be so potent as to cause me to believe that this was accident. I am aware that coincidences occur, but when they become the rule instead of the exception they are no longer mere coincidences, but are the normal state of things.

In conclusion, I would say that since the sound uttered by monkeys performs all that speech performs, is made of the same material, produced by the same means, acts to the same ends and through the same *media*, it is as near an approach to speech as the mental operations by which it is produced are an approach to thought. If it can be shown that these mental feats are not thought, the same process of reasoning could show that these sounds are not speech. If man derived his other faculties from such an ancestry, may not his speech have been acquired from such a source? If the prototype of man has survived through all the vicissitudes of time, may not his speech likewise have survived? If the races of mankind are the progeny of the simian stock, may not their languages be the progeny of the simian tongue?

R. L. Garner.

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MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT, A CORPORATE NOT A POLITICAL PROBLEM.

THE cities of America increase in number and grow with a rapidity unequalled in any other part of the world and unparalleled in history. To-day 29 per cent of the population of the United States is in cities of eight thousand and over, while ten years ago it was but 22 per cent. But in the older parts of the country the proportion of city population is much larger than this. Thus in the five manufacturing States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, an average of 62 per cent of the people now live in cities, and are consequently badly and expensively governed as to local affairs.

If the majority of a nation prefer bad government, they certainly will have it; and as an American believing in self-government, I think they are entitled to have it, even if they bring themselves to destruction. But a city is not a nation; it is a creation of the sovereign State, a corporation with strictly defined delegated powers. And if the cities of a State are badly governed, it is a reproach to the State no less than to the cities, for it is the business of the State to devise some method by which a delegation of a portion of its sovereign power to those communities of its citizens which are called cities shall be made according to some system which works well and bears good results. This is no question of political rights, but of corporate charters. A city charter differs from the charter of a railroad, a manufacturing corporation, or a bank, chiefly in the nature of the business to be done under it, and the State in granting it should consider State interests just as it does in granting the other business charters.

No one questions the right and duty of the State to consult general public interests in granting railroad, trust-company, or manufacturing-company charters; but in treating of city government, some writers take the ground that "State interference," as they term it, is the great cause of and that "local self-government" is the chief remedy for the existing difficulties. This is the theme of a recent lecture delivered before the Brooklyn Ethical Association by Prof. Lewis G. James, on

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the "Problem of City Government." Professor James says: "So long as the State possesses the power of charter-tinkering and constant interference with the city affairs, so long as our political machines usurp the proper functions of the individual, this direct influence and responsibility of the citizen is impossible; our municipal affairs are therefore at the mercy of political cliques and rings, often operating at the State capital, remote from the surveillance of the citizen. The intelligent voter sees this and is discouraged." And he goes on to advocate "the constitutional guaranty of local self-government"; which is as if some railroad stockholder came out with a proposal that there should be a constitutional amendment giving railroads self-government, free from State interference.

Professor James does not show why a city should be freed from State supervision. The facts which appear in his lecture, so far as they go, point in just the opposite direction, for he says: "Our national capital, the city of Washington, is admirably governed by a *commission* appointed under authority of Congress, *after experimenting with the elective system*," and he cites the cities of "Key West, Pensacola, and perhaps other cities of Florida" where "there are no municipal officers chosen by the people," and remarks in passing that "each of these cities is satisfactorily governed by a board of commissioners appointed by the governor of the State." He also notes the fact that "the great city of Paris, though under a *régime* nominally republican, has no administrative head chosen by its own citizens or by their deputies. The prefect of the Seine, who is the nearest representative of the mayor of our American cities, is appointed by the general government and *is wholly irresponsible to the citizens of Paris*." It seems singular that a learned writer who shows great familiarity with the shortcomings of the usual American city governments and with the methods where better results are obtained, and who cites no instances of well-governed American cities except those above referred to, where there is no "local self-government," who mentions with admiration the police of Paris and of Berlin, which he says "are local arms of the national military service, appointed and officered by the central or imperial government, *having no responsibility to the local administration*," should arrive at the conclusion that in America the great trouble in city government is State interference and that cities should be let alone.

Most of the writers on the government of American cities ignore the fact that we alone for the first time in the world are confronted

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with the problem of framing city governments which have to be worked in a nation ruled by universal suffrage. This is not the case anywhere else, and this is a fatal objection to the proposals which are made to copy the administration of Birmingham, of Berlin, or of Paris. These cities are governed by property-holders who are elected under a suffrage where property votes to an extent which our democratic form of government makes impossible here; and their methods of city government, however well suited to be worked under the limited suffrage of those countries, are probably dependent upon that suffrage for success, and therefore cannot be safely copied in this country without modification.

All cities in England and Wales, including London, are now under the Local Government Act of 1888. Before 1888, all cities except London were under the Municipal Corporation Act of 1882, which repealed the act of 1835, under which they had been up to that time, so that until within ten years there had been little change in the form of English municipal government for fifty years, and the Local Government Act of 1888 made comparatively little change outside of London, for it re-enacted the most important parts of the act of 1882. As London was not subject to the act of 1882, the change produced there by the act of 1888 was radical, and its effects during the three years it has been in force have caused a political agitation and excitement which have affected Parliament itself. The last London city election is looked upon as likely to cause indirectly the fall of the Salisbury government. I mention this to show that in England, as well as in the United States, the political effects of a purely municipal election may reach the national government; this should afford food for reflection to those advocates of holding separate city elections as a means of materially improving the government of American cities. While I believe that city elections are better held at a different time from State or national elections, I do not regard it as having the effect of entirely or even of largely eliminating from them the politics of the State or of the nation. Probably this cannot be done by any device under the present general American municipal system. It is true that a man's views on the tariff or on silver ought not to have anything to do with his vote for city officials, yet the returns of city elections show that they do, whether the elections are held separately or not; but this is a digression.

To return to the government of English cities, excepting London. No one can serve as mayor, alderman, or councillor unless he is worth

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£1,000 or its equivalent in income in large cities or £500 or its equivalent in income in small cities. Councillors are elected by popular vote for three years, and they choose one-third of their number as aldermen, whose term of office is six years, one-half going out every three years. The aldermen and councillors sit as one body, called the council, presided over by the mayor, whom the council elect annually, usually from the aldermen, though this is not required.

Now as to English municipal suffrage. An English "borough elector" must have lived in the city or within seven miles of it for twelve months preceding an election, "in occupation joint or several of any house, warehouse, counting-house, shop, or other building in the borough." He or the owner of the house which he lives in must have been "rated," or, as we say, assessed, for the poor rate, and must have paid this and all other city taxes assessed upon him in order to entitle him to registration as a voter. A woman fulfilling these requirements may vote. Servants and lodgers living in the house the owner or occupier of which has paid the "rate" assessed upon it may now vote. It will be seen that while this franchise is nearly as broad as ours, the payment of taxes is a prerequisite to registration as a voter if a person has any taxable property; and if he has none, he must live in a house on which the tax has been paid by some one. The important point in which their municipal franchise differs from ours is the registration of non-resident "occupiers" of property in the city as voters provided they live within seven miles of the city limits. "Occupation" means owning or renting land or premises in the city. This is a purely property vote, and must introduce a conservative element into the government of cities which we do not have, for if every man living within seven miles of New York or of Boston who owns or leases a store or any premises in town could vote at the city election, there would undoubtedly be many thousand more votes cast against extravagant expenditure and heavy taxes than under our system.

Now, what are the conditions in the United States? If there is anywhere a property qualification for members of the city government, it is very exceptional. The rule is that most of the city fathers in America possess no taxable property. The Common Council of Boston consists of seventy-five members—three from each of the twenty-five wards. Of this number fifty-seven are not taxed on any property at all, and the remaining eighteen pay a property tax. Of these eighteen, about half are taxed on substantial amounts and the rest on property valued at from $300 to $2,000. The present Council is probably above the

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average Boston Common Council in the taxable value of property represented by its members. Some years ago a similar investigation showed only six property taxpayers out of the seventy-three members which then constituted the Council. Taking this year's numbers, eighteen to seventy-five, as a fair sample, it will be seen that more than three-fourths of the Common Council pay no property tax, while under the law it takes but a two-thirds vote for appropriations of money. So far as this branch of the city government goes, then, the non-property vote can spend money as it pleases, except for State limitation of power, though the case is not wholly what these figures would indicate. The lines are not drawn wholly on property. Several members of the Council who pay no property tax are educated men who stand for property, while, on the other hand, there are some of those who possess property whose votes would never indicate that the small amount they possess makes them conservative. The Board of Aldermen, composed of twelve members, stands seven property-holders to five who are taxed on no property; and as it requires eight votes for any appropriation of money, this, so far as property qualification is concerned, is a conservatively composed body. These eighty-seven men (seventy-five in the Council and twelve aldermen), sixty-two of whom have no visible property, control the appropriations of a city with an assessed valuation of over eight hundred and fifty millions, and but for a State limitation of the tax rate and of the power to incur debt, their control would be absolute. The law of limitation was passed in 1885 as a result of a sort of uprising of taxpayers against enormous appropriations and a rapid increase of taxes.

Now let us examine American municipal suffrage, using for an example the vote of the city of Boston. The registered vote of Boston at the last election was a little over 73,000. There were 32,407 resident taxpayers, of whom about 3,200 were women having no vote, and there are about 700 aliens or non-resident taxpayers, who of course are not voters. Deducting therefore 3,900 from 32,407 leaves 28,507 as the number of property-holding votes out of a total registered vote of 73,000. This shows the non-property vote as 46,693 against a property vote of 28,507, so that less than two-fifths of the voters of Boston are taxed on any property at all.

I endeavored to ascertain the property vote of the city of New York, but after investigation found that it could not be stated with accuracy. Real property there is not taxed to its owners, as in Boston. The tax is assessed on the property itself, and not to the owner, and

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the personal-property tax, which is assessed to owners, is no guide, since under the law a large part of it is sworn off, as a man may deduct his debts in paying taxes on his personal property, and thus many who own thousands of dollars' worth of property pay no tax. For these reasons there are no records from which the property-owning voters of New York can be ascertained. But I am convinced, after taking the opinions of persons in a position to make the most reliable estimates, that the proportion of property-holding voters is not greater there than in Boston.

Taking New York and Boston, then, as fair samples of large American cities, we have a large majority of non-property-holding voters. Is it not just here, and not in any particular system of administration, that lies the explanation of our extravagant and unbusinesslike city governments? Is it not an accepted political truth that men who have property —a stake in the country, as it is called—will be more careful in voting for expenditures, a part of which they themselves have to pay, than those who have not? And would not any one familiar with representative assemblies expect to find the power to levy taxes recklessly exercised by a city council a large majority of whom do not feel any part of the pecuniary burden which taxes inflict?

To me it seems obvious that this is a correct diagnosis of our municipal disease; but it is not at all obvious how it can be remedied. I am, however, convinced that the remedy does not lie in the direction of adding to our municipal functions and increasing the objects of our municipal expenditure under our present systems. When I am told that Birmingham operates its own gas works profitably, I point to Philadelphia, where, until the State stepped in with a restrictive charter, more than two thousand unnecessary employees were given places in that department alone. When it is proposed to copy Birmingham and other foreign cities in adding horse railroads and electric railroads to the business of our American city governments, I ask the advocates of these things to point out any American city where any municipal work is done so economically or so well as similar work is done by private individuals. In private affairs would any one seriously propose to intrust new and complicated business to an agent who had proved his incompetency and extravagance in everything he had tried to do? Yet the present drift of writers on municipal affairs is toward precisely such proposals. I can quite understand that the average city councilman is strongly in favor of having more power given him, more taxpayers' money to spend, no matter for what. It

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all adds to his influence, his opportunities of finding or creating places for his friends, and of getting something for himself. But I do not understand why a taxpaying citizen who sees around him municipal extravagance, bad management, and fraud should take such a view, except from failure to discern the causes of these things. It would seem that the vote and advice of such a person should be always against increasing power which has been abused, and in favor of curtailing it if possible.

In conclusion, perhaps it may be thought that I should have some practical remedy to suggest. I do not profess to be ready with any patent medicine warranted to cure this chronic American municipal disease. It is something if I have been able to suggest its cause. The disease may be inherent to democracy, but I do not think so. If it is, democracy contains the seeds of its own dissolution; for no community in which property is permanently subject to depredations like those of the Tweed ring in New York or of the old gas ring in Philadelphia will indefinitely adhere to a form of government of which such things are a necessary part. As the proportion of Americans who live in cities grows larger and larger, the people will gradually find out how to govern them for the greatest real good of the greatest number; and whatever the method may be, it will be adopted, whether it be a government by State commissions as in Washington, Pensacola, and Key West, or a government partly chosen by the city and partly appointed by the state as in Paris, or under charters like the so-called "Bullitt" bill which a few years ago was applied to Philadelphia. But, in the present condition of American municipal affairs, let us neither cast away the safeguards that we have by adopting constitutional amendments against State "interference," nor increase the opportunities for maladministration by enlarging the field of city expenditure.

FRANK MORISON.

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WRITERS AND SUBJECTS IN THE AUGUST FORUM.

RICHARD H. EDMONDS (*Unparalleled Industrial Progress*) was the founder ten years ago of the "Manufacturers' Record," of Baltimore, the chief industrial paper of the Southern States. During the past decade Mr. Edmonds has investigated and written voluminously about the various phases of Southern industrial advancement. He is familiar with the progress made in every important branch of industry in all the Southern States.

HOKE SMITH (*The Disastrous Effects of a Force Bill*), born in Newton, N. C., in 1855, is one of the most successful lawyers in Atlanta, Ga. He was the principal founder of the "Atlanta Journal" and is now president of the Atlanta Board of Education. Mr. Smith is one of the most vigorous of the post-bellum generation of Southern men, and has achieved a wide reputation because of his identification with the progressive element of his State.

WALTER BESANT (*Literature as a Career*) was born at Portsmouth, England, and was educated at King's College, London, and at Christ's College, Cambridge. He is one of the best known of living English novelists. He wrote, in collaboration with James Rice, many novels. Since the death of Rice he has written "All Sorts and Conditions of Men," "The Revolt of Man," "Dorothy Forster," and other novels and stories. He is the originator and the chief supporter of the British Society of Authors.

RICHARD HENRY DANA (*An American View of the Irish Question*), born in Cambridge, Mass., in 1851, was graduated at Harvard College in 1874 and at the Harvard Law School in 1877. He has devoted himself to the practice of law in Boston and to the advocacy of civil-service reform. He is a contributor to the "Civil-Service Record" and occasionally writes elsewhere on political topics.

LOUIS WINDMÜLLER (*The Folly of Free-Coinage Agitation*), born in Westphalia, Germany, was educated in a college in Münster. He came to this country in 1853, and has been engaged in a successful business in New York ever since. He has assisted in the organization of many of the leading business associations, and is a member of several of the leading political and historical societies of New York.

DAVID M. STONE (*Repeal of the State-Bank Tax*), born in Oxford, Conn., in 1817, left school when he was fourteen years old, and after engaging in many undertakings, entered journalism in 1849 as the editor of the New York "Dry Goods Reporter." A few months later he assumed the commercial editorship of the New York "Journal of Commerce," of which he became in 1861 joint-proprietor and in 1866 editor-in-chief. He is one of the leading authorities on financial matters in this country. In addition to his editorial writing for his own paper, he has written copiously for other publications.

WILLIAM JAMES (*What Psychical Research Has Accomplished*) was born in Albany, N. Y., in 1842. He was educated abroad and took a physician's

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degree, but for the past twenty years he has devoted himself to teaching at Harvard University, where he is now professor of philosophy and psychology. He has contributed numerous articles to magazines, and last year he published his *magnum opus*, "Principles of Psychology." He has devoted much time to the study of psychical problems.

ALDACE F. WALKER (*The Western Traffic Association*) was born in Vermont, rose to the colonelcy of a regiment from his State during the war, and upon his return home became a lawyer. He was elected to the legislature, and gave special attention to the railroad problems before it. In 1887 he was appointed by President Cleveland a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and served with credit until he resigned to accept the chairmanship of the commissioners of the Western Traffic Association. He is regarded as one of the keenest students of railroad problems in this country.

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS (*An Example of Organized Thrift*) was formerly a lecturer on economics at Harvard College. For the past five years he has been studying social and economic questions in Europe. He is a contributor on these subjects to leading publications in this country and England.

JOHN P. COYLE (*The Churches and Labor Unions*), born in East Waterford, Pa., was graduated at Princeton College in 1875, was tutor in Latin there for four years, and entered the ministry in 1882. In 1886, after two pastorates in Ludlow, Mass., and New York City, he was called to the Congregational church at North Adams, where he is now preaching. He is an occasional contributor to current publications.

JAMES A. BEAVER (*Why We Have So Few Good Roads*), born in Millerstown, Pa., in 1837, was graduated at Jefferson College, Cannonsburg, Pa., in 1854. He then studied for the bar, and began practice as soon as he was of age in Bellefonte, Pa. He won the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers for his services in the Civil War. In 1873 he was elected a trustee of the Pennsylvania State University. He has for many years taken an active part in Republican politics, and was elected to the governorship of Pennsylvania on the Republican ticket.

RICHARD LYNCH GARNER (*Phonographic Studies of Speech*) was born in Virginia in 1848. At sixteen he joined the Confederate Army and served until the end of the war. In 1865 he entered school at Jefferson Institute, Blountville, Tenn., and remained there until 1867, when he travelled in Kentucky and the South, teaching and lecturing. He devoted much time to a search for the origin of writing, and afterward to an attempt to discover a solution of the temple glyphs from the ruins of Palenque, which he still hopes to find. He also became interested in the phonation of animals, and of late has been studying the sounds produced by monkeys and translating them into human speech. He recently sailed for Africa in order to continue this work. His present article is an extract from a book on the "Speech of Monkeys" soon to appear through Chas. L. Webster & Co., New York, who have courteously given permission for its publication here.

FRANK MORISON (*Municipal Government: A Corporate, Not a Political Problem*) was for two years a member of the Boston Common Council and served two years in the Massachusetts legislature. He is now one of the executive committee of the Citizens' Association of Boston, and chairman of a special investigating committee appointed by Mayor Matthews to examine and report on the public institutions of the city.

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